NORTH-WEST FRONTIERS OF PAKISTAN AND OTHER AVENUES OF HISTORICAL WRITING

N.A. Baloch

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University of Sindh
Allama I.I. Kazi Campus
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Publisher's Note

Pakistan Study Centre has had the privilege to publish the works of Dr. N. A. Baloch. The first one was 'The History of Sindhi Language and Literature' (in Sindhi) of which the 3rd edition was published in 1990. This was followed by his three works (in English), 'Education Based on Islamic Values: Imperatives and Implications' (2000), 'SINDH: Studies Historical' (2003) and 'SINDH: Studies Cultural' (2004). At our request Dr. Baloch has edited his historical writings which are being published now.

I am grateful to Mr. Mazharul Haq Siddiqui our Vice Chancellor & Chairman, Board of Governors, Pakistan Study Centre, who approved the Centre's proposal to publish this volume.

I appreciate the hard work of our staff, particularly of Mr.Ayaz Channa, Publications Officer, who has endeavoured to make this work a standard publication of the Centre.

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Director, Pakistan Study Centre
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Foreword

Historical research in Pakistan has centred mainly on "The History of the Freedom Movement". The subject was of primary importance to be explored on a priority basis. Yet, there are other important avenues of historical research which need attention. In this work, Dr. Baloch has engaged himself in the study of some of them in the spirit of an indefatigable researcher, attempting to avail of all the sources of information to seek the possible solutions.

The first of the topics which surveys the principles and practices of historical writing used by the pioneers in the early Islamic eras, is informative and educative; the historical geography of the North-western frontier regions of Pakistan has been established on the basis of the Chinese and the Islamic sources. The ancient settlements of the Turkish tribes in the Frontier regions created TURAN which the author has appropriately termed as TURK LAND LAND. Also a link has been established between the Takka people of the Punjab and their settlement in Sindh.

For the first time, it has been explained how the ancient conflict between the Sassanian Iran and the neighboring Arab stocks assumed serious proportions with their spil on land and on sea right up to the Sindhian/Indian coastlines.

The other topics dealing with the medieval history are equally interesting and absorbing. The last four topics are of cultural importance. In particular, discovery of the principle of specific gravity by Beruni has been explained and also Shah Abdul Latif's appreciation of Maulana Rumi

has been highlighted by translating six verses from the poetic compendium of Shah Abdul Latif (The RISALO).

This work, as also his earlier researches, indicate that Dr. Baloch's interest has been mainly in investigating those historical issues which have remained unexplained. Not only he has harnessed the historical sources, but also the archaeological finds and record. In addition, he has attached great importance to field research. We learn that he traveled all the way **beyond** Kharan to inspect the site of the Jhanlowr Pass and discovered Arabic writings scratched on rocks by the Arabs during the 3rd, 4th and fifth century A.H.

April 6, 2009

Mazharul Haq Siddiqui S.I.,
Vice-Chancellor
University of Sindh, Jamshoro

Preface

The topics listed in this book were explored on different occasions for self study, and each one was concluded after achieving a general understanding of the issues involved. No in-depth study was intended. The objective was to seek and solve the problems, an effort to learn than to teach.

The first topic, originally entitled 'Historical Writings on Pakistan, Tradition and Progress', was presented as a Paper at the First Congress of Pakistan History and Culture held at the Islamabad University (now Quaid-e-Azam University) in 1973. The main theme of the Congress was 'Historical Writings on Pakistan'. The learned editor of the Conference Proceedings subsequently published it in the volume on 'Special Seminar Papers'. He was not happy with the title of the Paper though he recorded a balanced appreciation of its presentation.* In this work, the topic has been captioned 'Development of Historical Writings'.

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* The learned editor (Dr. A. H. Dani) after observing that the country as such already existed while the new State of Pakistan was created later and, hence "the question of writing national history is complicated". Therefore "Dr. Baloch..... has raised a vital question in his learned article to make a firm decision on this issue and urged upon the historians to work for the collection of the historical data. He has further made an assessment of the historical writings under two heads: tradition, i.e. works dealing with the history prior to 1947; and progress, i.e. works dealing with post 1947 period of history. The terminology given by Dr. Baloch may be questioned but the patience with which he has selected his bibliography and discussed the merits of the works deserves admiration. The suggestions given in his conclusion under the caption of 'The future direction' deserve careful consideration by all those who take interest in the history of Pakistan".

The second topic deals with the North-West Frontier Regions (of Pakistan, the Subcontinent in the past) which have been the cradle of ancient migrations from Central Asia and from Khurasan and Iran, beginning with their initial settlements and later entry into the Sub-continent. Yet, the historical geography of these regions is not defined to assess the changing power-structures and the onward thrust and conquests. References from early Islamic sources have been cited to advance the scope of this study. The third one explores the distribution of the Turkish tribes and their power structure in the North West Frontier regions during the 7th-10th centuries A.D.

The fourth and the fifth topics underline the impact of the Sassanian/Arab conflict on sea and land continuing eventually to the Sindhian/Indian fronts. This road map of Mediaeval history has not been hitherto surveyed. In continuation is the sixth topic dealing with "The Ancient Dynasties of Sindh", in which the rule of the Scythians/Sakas has been brought under discussion for the first time. The Scythians were supplanted by the Budhist Rai Dynasty which was followed by the Brahman Dynasty. The chronology as well as regnal periods of the rulers of the two dynasties have been defined. Credit goes to the early Muslim historians who inquired into the history of the pre-Islamic eras.

The next eight topics have been investigated in the light of more reliable data. The last four are included in the areas of language, culture and science as positive fruits of historical development. Of special interest is the linkage between Maulana Rumi and Shah Abdul Latif. The last one in the area of History of Science, explains the contribution of Beruni (d. 443 H/1051 A.D.) who had also visited and researched in the present areas of Pakistan. While in Ghaznah, he calculated the relative weights of metals and minerals and illuminated the concept of specific gravity.

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24th January, 2009 A.D.

I

DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORICAL WRITINGS.*

As this proposition purports to deal with historiography since and before the establishment of Pakistan (1947), a longer view may be taken to see the development of the Indo-Muslim historiography in a proper perspective and assess its progress in the post-independence era. The development of the early Muslim and the Indo-Muslim historiography followed by the colonial interlude up to the achievement of Independence represents the 'tradition', and the development since 1947 the 'progress'. It is proposed to present a review of the main trends in historiography during both the periods and underline some of the problems involved in its future direction.

THE TRADITION

The pre-independence tradition in historiography with reference to what now constitutes the lands and peoples of Pakistan may be studied under three periods: (i) The Early Period, (ii) The Indo-Muslim Period, and (iii) The Colonial Period.

Early Period: During the early period extending up to the 11th century A.D., all historical writings were undertaken by scholars belonging to other lands. The Greek

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* The paper presented at the First Congress of Pakistan History and Culture, University of Islamabad, April, 1973.

historians, the Chinese travellers and the later Arab-Persian Muslim historians fall in this category. Their writings were essentially factual and descriptive in nature. The Greek and the Chinese writings were limited in scope and specific in content, the former dealing with the campaign of Alexander and the latter with the state of Budhism in the lands of Pakistan. Other information given by them is subsidiary though useful. The Muslim writings were more advanced in methodology. Also they were varied in form and content, and gave information falling within the domain of history, geography, trade and communications, religion and ethnology. At the initial stage of development, the method employed was that of *Khabar* or *Hikayah*, i.e. descriptive reporting or narration free from any personal opinions. Because of this method, the Muslim historical writings became repositories of factual record and useful information.

The method of 'multiple chain reporting', developed in the process of securing more authentic recording of the substance of *Hadith* and its textual variations, was later applied to the recording of historical events. The principle of 'chain transmission' implied that the original report must be by one who had seen or participated in the event. Again, more than one chain transmissions were used to record the varying eye-witness accounts of different reporters, in order to have a more authentic view of the same event. Among the pioneers who applied this method to the recording of historical events was Abul Hasan Ali b. Muhammad al-Madaini (d. 839). For us, the importance of this method lies not only in the general context of Muslim historiography but also in its actual application to the history of our own lands, because Abul Hasan al-Madaini had specialized in the study of the historical events and conquests of the eastern lands of the Caliphate including those now

constituting Pakistan. He wrote separate monographs on 'The Conquest of Makran', 'The Conquest of Sind' and 'The Governors of Hind' (Sind)'[1] – all having a direct bearing on the early history of Pakistan.

By the turn of the 9th century, the method of field research through personal observation and on-the-spot inquiry came to be developed to obtain more authentic information on local geography, history and culture. This method is amply reflected in the works of Masudi (d. 956) who is also credited with having inaugurated the typical method of writing history by making use of the historical anecdote.[2] However, the method of field research and on-the-spot observation has been discussed at length for the first time by Beruni in his INDIA. His 'Preface' opens with a quotation that 'A report bears no comparison to personal observation' [ليس الخبر كالعيان] and follows with an amplification of the observation method and its superiority to the report and the record as sources of information.[3]

The field research method helped to correct the information derived through verbal reports or record based on reports. Both Masudi and Beruni applied this method to their inquries in the lands now constituting Pakistan. Masudi after visting Sind (912-13) corrected the view of Jahiz (in his *Kitab al-Hayawan*) that the source of the Indus and Nile was the same. Beruni's 'INDIA', compiled mainly on the basis of field research extending from Peshawar to Multan, set an example in scientific inquiry and laid the foundation of the science of cultural anthropology. On the basis of his on-the-spot inquiry and study of the religion of the Hindus, Beruni corrected the information copied from Zarqan's work by Abdul Abbas Iranshahri, a contemporary whom Beruni credits with absolutely objective reporting[4] and from whom he had got much information on India.

The quest for authentic historical information remained a hall mark of the Muslim historians subsequently. In case of the distant lands where personal visit was not possible, information was invariably derived from the most reliable authorities who had a first hand knowledge of the subject. Thus, Shihab al-Din Fadl Allah of Damscus derived his information on the reign of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq from the scholarly Mubarak, a resident of Cambay,[5] while at Tabriz Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah derived his information about the life of Budha (Shakyamuni) from a Kashmirian lama Kamalashri Bakshi (Bhikshu?).[6]

The Indo-Muslim Period: In the Sub-continent, historical writings, as such, originated and developed after the advent of Muslims. The Muslim historiography had come of age by the time the Muslim power was consolidated in the Sub-contient in the 12th century with capital at Delhi, and all the basic forms were used to develop the Indo-Muslim historiography. These were: *Khabar* or *Hikayah, the 'Single-event* narrative from'; the Universal; the nation-wise and dynastic form; *Sinin* or the 'chronological-cum-annalistic (year-wise) from; *Tabaqat* or the 'successive chronological divisions form' (applied, at the initial stage, to the presentation of the classified biographies); *Sirah* or the 'biographical form'; and *Ansab* or the' genealogical form'. All these forms were employed within the framework of Indo-Muslin historiography which gathered momentum in the 13th century, after such early works as the *Taj al Ma'athir* of Hasan Nizami Nishapuri[7] giving the accounts of the campaigains of Mu'izuddin, Qutubuddin and Iltutmish (1191-1217).

From the standpoint of form and methodology, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Fathnamah-i-Sind alias Chachnama,*

From the standpoint of form and methodology, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Fathnamah-i-Sind alias Chachnama, Tuzak-i-Baburi* and *Ain-i-Akbari* may be singled out as representative works in Indo-Muslim historiography. *Fat'hnamah* was complied at Aror, Sindh, sometimes after 1000 A.D., by incorporating mainly the works of Abul Hasan al-Madaini. As such, it reflects the method of multiple reporting as applied to the events of military campaigns in Balochistan and Sindh. Though most of the chain authorities were not carefully preserved by the later copyists and compilers (including the Persian translator Ali Kufi), they have survived in some cases leading to the ultimate report of the person who himself was present on the occasion. Information about the administrative measures taken by Muhammad b. al-Qasim at Aror is recorded from more than one original authorities.[8] *Fat'hnamah* remained the main source of information on consquest of Sind for later works, such as *Munsha'at-i-Mahru, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* alias *Tarikh-i-Farishta, Zubdat al-Tawarikh, Tarikh-i-Mufdhali* and the histories of Sind, but the method of using the different sources of information was not applied in any of these works and it did not become a feature of the Indo-Muslim historiography.

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri completed by Minhajuddin Uthman b. Sirajuddin Muhammad at Delhi in 658/1260, was the first work of the specialized 'Tabaqat type chronological historiography' produced in the Subcontinent.[9] A universal history, as a whole, it combined in the scheme and contents of its different *tabaqat*, the features of the history of epochs and eras, of nations and countries, of dynasties and the successive ruling houses, and of events under successive regnal years of a monarch (as applied specifically to the 15 years of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud's rule). These features

of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* had an all-pervasive influence on the development of the Indo-Muslim historiography. Whether the works were called *Tabaqat* (such as *Tabaqat-i-Bahadurshahi, Tabaqat-i-Akbarshahi, Tabaqat-i-Shahjehani*) or by any other name, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri remained the guiding model for all.

The third work *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* demonstrates the best form and method of autobiographical writing. The autobiographical form of writing is met with much earlier work *Futuhat-i-Firozshahi* by Sultan Firuzshah, but it was limited in scope being a record of his edicts and ordinances. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* is not only a record of the life and adventures of Babur couched in simple direct style but also gives a vivid description of the physical features of the different lands, and of social, political and cultural traits of the peoples inhabiting them. Babur's work inspired the writing of *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri,* but the *tuzuk* methodology in historical writing did not advance further, though writings of biographical nature in the form of personal Diaries and Memoirs (Jauhar Aftabchi and Gulbadan Bano Begum), Letter writing (*Maktubat*) and Conversational Records of Saints (*Malfuzat*) progressed significantly.

The system of writing the current history by the official court historians was fully developed during the Mughal period. Besides the eye-witness accounts of the proceedings of the Royal Court, official record of documents and other contemporary correspondence were used as source materials. The officers participating in any events outside were required to draw up and file official memoranda. To get the provincial news recorded, the institution of *Waqa-i-Nigari* was developed and 'Reporters' were appointed in the provincial key towns to send their reports to the Central Government. These were the more developed measures to

secure authentic information for purpose of day to day administration.

The bulk of the history written during the Mughal period employed the chronological methods of recording events under the successive regnal years of each ruler. Abul Fadl's *Ain-e-Akbari,* however, stands out as an original contribution in the field of historiography. In its scope, content, form and methodology, it is horizental rather than vertical in nature. It is functional and objective, aiming at giving information and guidance to the officials of the realm regarding the regulations of the Government, the Imperial Court and the household, provincial revenue and statistics, and regarding the socio-cultural pattern of the country by giving relevant information on religious, philosophical, economic and recreational aspects of life of the people. Practical and encyclopaedic in approach, summarizing the most relevant information on a number of subjects, the work struck new diamensions in the Indo-Muslim historiography. After Beruni's *India*, Abul Fadl's *A'in* stands out as a remarkable contribution to the delineation of contemporary cultural pattern of Mughal India.

With the waning of the Mughal Empire, the process of development in historiography also suffered a set-back. For sometime it flourished with some vigour in the regions which remained free from colonial domination. Mir Ali Sher Qani's *Tuhfat al-Kiram* compiled in the late 18th century (1182-1205 H.) may be regarded as one of the last works epitomizing the tradition of Indo-Muslim historiography. But with the extension of colonial domination, the indigenous tradition in historiography began to be eclipsed by foreign historical writings.

The Colonial Period: Long before the actual colonial occupation, foreign writers, mainly travelers, missionaries, and officials who visited India during the Mughal period have left a record of their writings but, as observed by Sh. A. Rashid, "difficulties of language, of access to reliable persons and documents and religious prejudices mar the value of their accounts".[10] During the early period of colonial occupation, historical witings were produced either by Christian missionaries or the colonial administrators and policy makers who wrote from an angle which was anti-Muslim since, prior to their advent, Muslims happened to be the rulers of the country. The advantages of the benign colonial rule and its administration for the subject people were highlighted by condemning their previous Muslim rulers and their administration. It was after 1857, that a small group of colonial writers tried to be less subjective in their writings in so far as their attitude towards Muslims was concerned. There was no 'objectivity' as such, even in their comparatively 'sympathetic' writings. Thus, W.W.Hunter's work "The Indian Musalmans" called for a rejoinder from an enlightened pro-British scholar of the calibre of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who wrote his "Hunter Par Hunter" (Urdu).

The colonial administrator simultaneously inspired the Hindu writer to reinterpret the previous Indo-Muslim history as that of Muslim colonial domination. Even Muslim scholars were induced to write fresh histories in order to earn approbation and secure patronage of the colonial administrator. A number of historical works produced apparently in the form and tradition of the Indo-Muslim historiography and written in Persian, served the colonial interest. Works such as Siyar al-Mutakhirin (a history of Bengal) of Ghulam Husain Tabatabai compiled as early as 1781 or the *Lubb-i-Tarikh-i-Sind* (a history of

Sind) written by Khudadad Khan as late as 1900 A.D. reflect the hold of the colonial ruler on the mind of the mercinary Muslim historian.

In particular, the colonial historiography created and consolidated two main trends, which had far reaching consequences for the historical writings produced in the Subcontinent then and subsequently. The first was the creation of the 'Hindu Muslim differential' which had almost been eliminated as an achievement of the best form of Mughal historiography. Secondly, the disparagement and condemnation of the so-called 'native historian' was established in the name of objectivity. True it is that the native historian's approach was conditioned by local factors, but then these factors were the very warp and woof of local history. On the other hand, the foreign colonial historian also viewed the process of local history through his own goggles, and from his own angle of vision, and sought its interpretation against the background of his own training and experience. Due to his inadequate understanding of the local socio-cultural situation, his writings, even when shorn of any ulterior motives, remained coloured in conclusions.

These trends have persisted to this day and the 'native historian' has not yet been restored to the position of the 'nation's own historian' which he historically deserves. It needs to be understood that neither the native historian becomes subjective because of being native, nor the foreign historian becomes objective because of being a foreigner.

The subjective approach of the colonial/foreign historian was obviously undermining the importance of the original sources, and credit goes to Sir H. M. Elliot, then of the East India Company's Bengal Civil Service for underlining the importance of the original writings of the

native historians by culling and compiling voluminous data (in 1849) from their works, which are now available in 'The History of India as Told by its Own Historians.[11]

Also it was from the mid 19th century onwards that the marked imbalance in the then current historiography began to be corrected by the Muslim writers, first by apologetic and subsequently by more independent and positive writings. The process commenced with Sayyid Ahmad Khan's editions of Abul Fadl's *Ain-i-Akbari* (1855), Ziauddin Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* (1862) and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (1863-64). In his other two works, *Essays on the Life of Mohammad* (1870) and *Khutabat-i-Ahmadiyya* (1870), is seen by some 'the starting point of modern historiography of Islam'.[12] In Sayyid Ahmad Khan's editions, however, one does find the beginning of the application of modern methodology to historical writings. Publication of the critical editions of Amir Khusraw's works from the M. U. Aligarh (1918) continued Sayyid Ahmad Khan's tradition. Other learned organizations such as the Royal Society of Bengal, Nadvat al-'Ulama', Azamgarh, Da'irat al-Ma'arif, Hyderabad Deccan, produced critical editions of historical works which continued to supplement the reservoir of the more authentic historical source materials. Individual scholars produced critical works on individual monarchs or dynastic rules thus contributing to the revival of the early tradition of Indo-Muslim historiography and also, in part, providing a correct perspective for evaluating the colonial historical writings.

PROGRESS

During the first three years after independence, material with historical content was produced in the form of newspaper and magazine articles, Pakistan anniversary numbers, 'speech' literature, committee reports and other

documents, and the publicity literature issued by the government agencies. The central Department of Information and Public Relations and the Information and Broadcasting Division of the Ministry of Interior under which the department worked, played a significant role, in this regard, with support from the Ministry of Finance. This became possible mainly due to the efforts of such history and culture minded officials as Mr. Mumtaz Hasan (Ministry of Finance), Sheikh Muhammad Ikram (Joint Secretary, I & B Division), Mr. Qudratullah Shahab (Deputy Secretary, I & B Division) and Mr. Majid Malik, Director of the Department. *'Pakistan, the Struggle of a Nation'* published by the Director of Foreign Publicity in 1949 was one of the earliest (though modest and preliminary) attempts to project the history of the struggle for independence. This work was followed by Richard Symond's *'The Making of Pakistan'* in 1950. In the light of his own studies on the subject, Sheikh Muhammad Ikram formulated proposals to project the cultural history of Pakistan. The publication of *'Five Thousand Years of Pakistan'* by R. E. M. Wheeler in 1950 was received with approval and appreciation. The same year a plan was drawn up† to produce a work on *'The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan'* and the manuscript was completed though the book was published later (in 1955).

Outside the governmental circles, progress in historiography came with the founding of the learned bodies by the Provincial and the Central Governments. *The Sindhi Adabi Board* established by the Government of Sind at Karachi in 1951 (later moved to Hyderabad), from the very beginning devoted its efforts towards editing and

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† The writer, then Officer on Special Duty in the Information and Broadcasting Division, was associated with this project.

printing source material on the history of Sindh, and some two dozen works having a bearing on Sindh History were published by the mid-sixties. The Pakistan Historical Society (Karachi), the Research Society of Pakistan (Lahore), the Central Urdu Board (Lahore), the Universities of the Punjab, Karachi and of Sindh, other learned bodies, and some private publishers subsequently produced works of varied historical content though the bulk of this material was in the form of editions and translations of earlier works.

Taking into account the works produced both by foreign and Pakistani scholars during the last two decades (1950-70) it would appear that the main advance has come in the domain of political history of Pakistan. There were two obvious reasons for this. Firstly, the political history of the State was sizeable in scope: It actually commenced from 1947 with a background going back to not more than a century. Secondly, it was the current history which was of vital interest and for which source materials were available though some not easily accessible.

Studying the purpose, plan and the method employed in scores of works having a bearing on the political history of Pakistan published thus far, it would appear that the local writers, *exceptions apart*,[13] have been concerned more with what has already become 'history', and also they have adduced their data in descriptive and chronological form. The outsiders, on the other hand, have been concerned mainly with 'history in the making of Pakistan' and what is likely to happen in future. By and large, their approach is analytical. More recently, Soviet scholars (Gankovsky and Gordon-Polonskaya) have brought to the fore-front their own approach, viz., to study the history of Pakistan within

the context of ethnological background, economic development, class structure and class struggle.

So far as the economic history of Pakistan is concerned sufficient data has been produced through annual and periodical publications, and also the different aspects of economy and the problems involved have come under study.

No serious work has yet begun on the Social History of Pakistan. The large scale migration which took place in the wake of independence compelled the different social groups to live together as neighbours. The initial process of accommodation later led to social conflict which has not yet been completely resolved. On the other hand, economic development, increased urbanization; extension of education and political awakening have further strained the social structure bringing about a collapse of the traditionally settled way of life. These factors have added new dimensions to the social history of Pakistan, with far reaching consequences both for the political stability of the country and the evolution of a common nationhood.[13]

Some advance has, however, been made in the field of cultural history. Since the appearance of the *"Cultural Heritage of Pakistan"* (1955), substantial contributions have been made through the publications of the Department of Archaeology, the learned bodies and of individual scholars in the fields of fine arts, literature and architecture. However, no composite work on the cultural history of Pakistan, as such, has been written. Aziz Ahmad in his *"Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment"* (1964) has delineated the Indo-Muslim cultural development in relation to Islam and Islamic world, and in relation to the local environment and 'Hindu India'. In

piecing the bits together, from the different and vast areas of information, he has led himself to draw conclusions which often represent 'partial' rather than 'whole' truth. In terms of stimulus and response, Aziz Ahmad's recognition of more than one factor stands in contrast to the view of M. Mujeeb who in *'The Indian Muslims'* (1967) has delineated the cultural development of the Indian Muslims mainly as a function of local environment.

So far as the writing of history in the chronological sense is concerned, three main projects have been undertaken thus far. These are: (i) A History of the Freedom Movement; (ii) an eight volume project on the History of Sindh, of the Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad; and (iii) "A Short History of Pakistan" in 4 volumes, published by the Karachi University. These efforts though laudable are but preliminary, in view of the magnitude of the task. Competent scholarship is no doubt called for to transcend the traditional approach to the writing of history as a mere chronological narrative of events, and to unfold history as the totality of the nations march on all the fronts of life with its success and failures taking place in the context of causes and consequences. But even such an undertaking may not be un-surmountable if it were settled that the history of Pakistan commenced exactly from the 14th August 1947. The problem, however, gets complicated when it comes to providing a perspective to this definite period and determining its vertical and horizontal dimensions with reference to Pakistan's historical development.

The Differing Viewpoints and Assumptions. From amongst the many differing viewpoints and assumptions, the following three which are more typical and which have already become a part of historical writings on Pakistan

may be taken for discussion in order to discern the existing or the developing trends in Pakistani historiography:

i) *Firstly,* whether the Muslims in India have had a separate entity of their own or they were an integral part of the Indian population. The differing viewpoints and assumptions in this regard are reflected in the works of Dr. I. H. Qureshi and M. Mujeeb.

Dr. Qureshi in his book The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent (1962), treats the Muslims of the Subcontinent as a community of purpose, a single entity in terms of faith, value pattern and outlook on life, and traces the development, achievements, decline and the struggle of this community which eventually culminated in the achievement of a separate Muslim State of Pakistan. On the other hand, M. Mujeeb in his book *The Indian Muslims* (published 5 years later in 1967)[‡] contends that while there are Muslims in India, the existence of a 'Muslim Community', as such, is only *taken for granted.* He questions the validity of the distinction underlined by the concepts of 'Muslim' and 'non-Muslim'. According to him, the Muslims like any other section of the Indian population have lived as an integral part of the common environment, and any achievements they might have made were not because of their being "Muslims", as such, but 'as a part of the process of their self-expression and self-realization".

[‡] Apparently, Mujeeb wrote after, and under the impact of(?) Dr.Qureshi's book and wanted to present the other side of the picture, though under the last chapter "Conclusion" he wished to inform that "this book was not written with any preconceived notions and does not prove any theory in regard to the past or the future of the Indian Muslims" (p.555).

It is obvious that M. Mujeeb also takes for granted the achievements of a people as a natural consequence of the environmental living. It may be argued that he fails to recognize the role of socio-cultural motivation. Achievements are the end result of the basic motivations which also arise from the specific way of life of a community.

ii) *Secondly,* even though Pakistan represented the achievement of a common political struggle of all Muslims in the sub-continent, the practical problem of achieving a common nationhood still remained. The question is how to integrate the different Muslim populations with different historical, socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds into a common nationhood? Can a common nationhood be achieved through a process of centralization or decentralization, through a uniformity in policies and procedures or a unity of purposes which allows for different patterns of adjustment. In actual practice, both centralism and uniform policies and procedures have not brought the goal of common nationhood any nearer. Decentralization and autonomy have not yet been tried seriously, and the differing viewpoints and assumptions in this regard have not yet been resolved, with the result that practical politics have not succeeded in wielding the people of Pakistan into a common nationhood. This crucial aspect of our history has been studied, comparatively more assiduously by foreign scholars (Callard, Wilcox and others) than our own historians whose analysis of our historical setting and common directional goals should contribute to the understanding of the problem and formulation of the State policies appropriate to its solution.

iii) *Thirdly,* regarding the diamensions of Pakistani history some questions can be raised and have been raised though in different contexts. Is Pakistan's history independent of or interrelated with the history of India? Chronologically, how far back does it go and from where does it commence? What is the role of the history of the lands constituting Pakistan vis-à-vis the national history of Pakistan, and is the former only of local significance or of national importance?

The first question has already been raised and summarily answered by Dr. I. H. Qureshi as follows:

> "The question may be raised: Is it possible to write the history of Pakistan at all? Can it be disentangled sufficiently from the history of India to stand by itself? The answer is that for certain periods, the history of Pakistan can be narrated almost independently and for other periods the areas constituting Pakistan were drawn into the whirlpool of regional history so strongly that what happened here had only a local significance, and this also could not be fully understood without reference to greater happenings involving larger areas. Sometimes, the dominant role in our history was played by events outside the sub-continent, especially in Central Asia and the Iranian plateau".[14]

But all this, unless clearly spelt out, will remain complicated for the student of history.

The second question, as to whence does the history of Pakistan commence, has been answered differently by different writers. Factually and legally, the history of Pakistan commences from the 14th of August 1947. But the struggle of Muslims for freedom is often traced back to 1857 and is identified, by implication, with the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan. In *"A Short History of Pakistan"* (edited by Dr. I. H. Qureshi and published by the University of Karachi), the history of Pakistan is extended to the prehistoric Indus Valley Civilization because this civilization flourished in the territories now constituting Pakistan.

This retrospective extension is obviously on the territorial basis and this makes the third question of vital importance viz., what is the role of the history of the lands constituting Pakistan vis-à-vis the national history of

Pakistan? Is it of local significance or of national importance?

Dr. Qureshi's view that at some "periods the areas constituting Pakistan were drawn into the whirlpool of regional history so strongly that what happened here had only a local significance" tends to create 'central local polarization' in Pakistani historiography. Both in *"A History of the Freedom Movement"* and in *"A Short History of Pakistan"* (excepting Book-1), the history of Pakistan is presented essentially in *an external central context* rather than *in an internal territorial setting*. It would appear as if the 'Local Central Differential' was being consolidated as a permanent feature of our historical writings. The sooner this lingering unrealistic trend is discarded the better it would be for the future of the developing Pakistani historiography.

The Future Direction: To promote the cause of Pakistani historiography, guidelines need to be prepared to enable the advanced students and young scholars to undertake historical writings with understanding and confidence. Apart from the technicalities involved in assembling and organizing the relevant information, and writing of footnotes and preparing bibliography, they should be given an understanding of some basic principles. No objective criteria, such as applied by trained anthropologists to the study of culture, have been developed to study a historical scene or setting. Therefore, risking the impression of being dogmatic, I venture to suggest that principles such as follows, among any others which may apply to the different forms of historiography, could be considered in this context.

Principle of Direction: Historical writings are motivated. They have their moorings in a set of actions and reactions with specific objectives of presentation. As motivations differ, standpoints differ. Therefore, it is necessary that the main purpose in general, as well as the more specific objectives, should become clear to the writer and, in turn, he should make them clear for others to enable them to understand and evaluate his discussions and conclusions. 'Objectivity' in a historical writing is 'contextual' rather than absolute. In addition, it is relative to the 'why', 'who' and 'how' factors involved so far as the authorship is concerned.

Principle of Authenticity: This implies the use of correct and relevant record, and a comparison of different documents/reports to establish the authenticity of an event. Field research is an integral part of this effort to obtain the most authentic information. It has already been pointed out that the principle of authenticity was developed in the early Muslim historiography and was applied to the accounts of the conquest of Balochistan and Sind by Abul Hasan al-Madaini. The technique of field research was applied by Masudi and Beruni to their inquiries pertaining to the territories of Pakistan.

Principle of Context: A thorough understanding of the time, place and circumstances under which an event took place or a policy was formulated and implemented is necessary. So far as the more distant past is concerned, the account of an event only reveals its topography. The value pattern inherent in the contemporary situation which went to create it is never too obvious. It is only by recreating the contemporary context, and portraying correctly the contemporary situation as the participants then saw it, that actions and reactions and the event as a whole could be

seen more objectively. The deciding factor in 'contextual objectivity' is how the individuals concerned or the society saw the situation in their own times. A false view of the historical events is presented when they are projected in the light of the notions, fashions and preferences prevalent in the writer's own times.

In modern times, historical developments in any country do not take place in isolation. More often, they are the function of both the internal and the external situation simultaneously. The student of Pakistani history should be enabled to appreciate the position of Pakistan in the world context. More specifically he/she must understand that Pakistan is an Eastern country, it is an Asiatic country, it is a developing country, and it is a Muslim country. These factors will keep influencing historical writings on Pakistan, and they could be as much a liability as an asset, depending upon the motivations and moorings of each individual writer.

Principle of Clarity: It means presentation of material in an unambiguous manner and clear expression, and in a sequence relevant to the subject of study. It has been recognized that a work may be an important source of historical materials but unimportant as a form of historical writing.

Principle of Consistency: This means internal reliability which eliminates contradictions in any one or related accounts.

Here a footnote may be added that a community or a nation has priorities available to it to record its own viewpoint about events affecting it. By availing of this opportunity, the context can be correctly set and the

possibilities of subsequent misinterpretation minimized. But if a people lack the ability or the will to avail of the opportunity to write about themselves first, they lose the initiative to others. In that case any of the three things might happen: (1) Firstly, others *may write* about them but judge them from their own angle. This is the case of foreign writings about many peoples, including those of Pakistan who, subsequently produce defensive and apologetic literature under the appellation of 'History'. (2) Secondly, others *may not write* about them and, consequently their representation in historical record may go by default. "The Annals of Muslim India" laments Dr. I. H. Qureshi "have not found their rightful place in Historical literature". Correct, but the reasons are also obvious. (3) Thirdly, others *may write* about them *occasionally* and only when they attract attention (in the words of Dr. Qureshi) "as an irrelevant inconvenience", or "a mere obstruction in the even flow of events".[15]

Availability of Source Materials: Finally, it may be pointed out that there can be no historiography without historical writings and no historical writings are possible without source materials. The availability of source materials is a pre-requisite for under-taking historical or any other writings. Our achievements in this regard have remained more modest than expected. Works having a bearing on the past history have been edited or translated. But as a part of national policy, no plans have yet succeeded in either obtaining the pre-independence official record or preserving the current record of Pakistan[§]. The Record Offices have not been effectively organized at the governmental or institutional level. The National Archives and the National Archives Commission have existed in

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§ Progress has been made since then. This was written in 1973.

name thus far. Under these circumstances, even much of the official governmental record of the post-independence era has been lost. The record of the Sind Province was lost after being dispatched to Lahore in the wake of One Unit. As compared to the losses, the net gains have been but few. It was under fortuitous circumstances that the Muslim League Record of the pre-independence era was located and then preserved at the University of Karachi, or that the Quaid-i-Azam's papers were acquired and preserved under the care of the Central Ministry of Education. More complimentary are the efforts of the individual scholars who have undertaken to assemble the documents of historical importance. Among others, G. Allana's Pakistan Movement, Historic Documents; (1967), Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada's edition of the documents on 'Foundations of Pakistan' (1970) and K. K. Aziz's edition of Documentary Record on the Khilafat Movement (1972) are the more significant contributions. In his 'preface', the latter scholar laments the paucity of authentic record which should become the basis for historical writings:

> In all fields of history – political, economic, social, intellectual – serious scholarship is based on three primary sources: documents, speeches and writings of leaders and biographical dictionaries. When history is written without the help of these, inevitably the result is indifferent in quality, uncertain in conclusion, and inadequate in scope ..... Unless historical investigation is firmly anchored to a verifiable record of events, the historian will add neither to his own reputation nor to his reader's knowledge.

The British India Record of the pre-independence period is now being made public. What is published first will make the difference in centering attention, at least for some time, on specific issues in the developmental history of Pakistan.

Besides the bulk of official record and documents which are the mainstay of 'current history', some important source material from the past history such as the *sanads* and the land grant documents, *Maktubat* and *Malfuzat* literature, *Fatawa* literature, biographical and geneological literature awaits to be assembled, edited and interpreted. The individual scholars, serving in History and other Social Sciences Departments of Colleges and Universities have a special responsibility to shoulder in this regard. The University libraries should invariably establish 'Record and Archive Sections', and the University Grants Commission should provide funds for the development and maintenance of such sections at the institutional level.

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1. Cf. al-Nadim, *K. al-Fihrist,* (Flugel's ed. P.103) and *Yaqut Mu'jum al-Udaba,* (Gibb Memorial Series, V/315-16). A comparison between the contents of the chapter entitled 'Futuh al-Sind' in al-Baladhuri's *Fatuh al-Buldan* and of the account of the conquest of Sind as recorded in *Fathnamah-i-Sind* confirms that al-Madaini was the author of *'Futuh al-Sind'*.

2. Cf. Hitti, P. K. *History of the Arabs,* 1953, London, p.391.

3. Preface to Beruni's *'India',* Arabic text, Hyderabad Dn., 1958, pp.1-6.

4. اقصده الحكايه المجرده من غير ميلا ولا مداهنه *Ibid,* p.5. Beruni points out that though Abul Abbas Iranshahri was absolutely objective and impartial in his views, he happened to reproduce (without himself verifying through field research) information recorded by Zarqan and to that extent his account became unreliable.

5. As recorded by him in his *Masalik al-Absar* which is quoted by al-Qalqashandi: *Subh al-A'sha,* Cairo, 1331/1913, Vol.V., pp.68.

6. Rashid al Din's History of India, ed. Karl John, Mouton & Co., London, The Hague-Paris, 1965.

7. He began writing this work in 602 H./1905-06.

8. *Fat'hnamah* alias Chachnamah, Persian Text (U. M. Daudpota ed.), Hyderabad Dn., 1358/1939. The original sources of Fat'hnamah (i.e. al-Madaini's authorities) and the method of reporting are analysed by the writer in his introduction to the Sindhi and the Urdu editions which were published by the Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, in 1963.

9. Obtainable in Raverty's translation for a long time, the text became available for the first time in the excellent edition of the work by Abdul Hayyi Habibi (2 Vols., 2nd edition, Kabul, 1963-64).

10. *A Short History of Pakistan*, Book Three, The Mughal Empire, University of Karachi, 1967, p.9.

11. The first volume of Sir Henry Elliot's original compilation *'Bibliographical Index to the Histories of Mohammadan India'* was published in 1849.

12. Aziz Ahmed: *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, 1857-1964, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1967, p.39.

13. There are good many exceptions in periodical articles and reviews, "Pakistan's Experiments in Democracy, (a chapter in St. Anthony's publication No.7 "Reform and Revolution in Asia", London, 1972) by Dr. Hamida Khuhro [at Oxford University] offers an analysis of the more recent events than others. She concludes that the tragedy of Pakistan's political instability and its restlessness "was man made and not historically inevitable". It appears that the more assiduous writers of Pakistani origin abroad seem to be doing better than their foreign colleagues in scaning wider areas of source materials and seeing the different issues involved in a clearer perspective.

14. Qureshi, I. H.: The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent (Preface)

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II

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER REGIONS.

The North-Western Frontiers of the present day Pakistan, then *Al-Hind*, were referred to as 'Indian Front' (*thagr al-Hind*) in the early historical records. Unlike the lofty and impregnable Himalayas on the north and the north-east, the mountain ranges on the north-west never formed a permanent political boundary of the frontiers of India. These ranges were often crossed by the neighbouring rulers and the territories lying between the Indus and these mountain ranges remained *apart from* India proper, and formed a part of the empires whose seats of Government often lay beyond these mountain ranges. It was only when the external pressure weakened that some rulers from 'Inner India' got control over these mountainous regions or advanced beyond them. The 'Indian' political influence is presumed to have extended along the vallies of Kubha and Kramu, the Kabul and the Kuram rivers, in the Vedic times; but for their fluctuating political fortune, these mountainous regions remained either no man's land or every man's land. Therefore, the early historians had to consider whether, as a matter of fact, the river Indus might be regarded as the Western most boundary of India.

However, that was not a rule. As observed by Pliny 'most writers do not fix the Indus as the Western boundary of India, but add to it the four Satrapies of Gedrosi (Makran), Arachotae (al-Rukkhaj or Eastern Sejistan), Arii (Ariana) and Paropamisadal (Kabul?), thus making the river Cophes (Kabul) its extreme boundary'.[1] These writers

evidently took a more generous view of favourable political conditions for India; for, according to Strabo, 'the Indians occupied some of the countries situated along the Indus which formerly belonged to the Persians. Alexander deprived them of the Ariana and established there his own settlements, which Selekus Nikator gave to Sandrokothus (Chandragupta), in consequence of a marriage contract and received in return five hundred elephant.[2]

With the rise of the Mauryas (305-226 B.C.), Indian political influence was again extended beyond the mountain ranges and Chandragupta is credited with having conquered the provinces of Paropaniada (Kabul), Arachosia, Aria and Eastern Gedrosia (Makran).[3] The Mauryan Empire declined with the death of Asoka and again the western powers extended their away over these regions excluding any Indian influence. The Bactrian Greeks established themselves in Afghanistan and Kabul in the 2nd century B.C., and they were followed by the Turki tribe of Sakas who invaded in the beginning of the Ashkanid rule in Persia.[4] Their hold was more effective and they permanently stamped their name on the province as Seistan. It come to be called 'Sijistan' from original 'Sakastan',[5] the dwelling place of the Sakas.[6] The Sakas were followed by the Parthian Turks who held their sway on the Kabul region and their King Gondophernes ruled, besides Kandhar and Seistan, even Punjab and Sindh. The Parthians, in their turn, were subjugated by the Yuechi or Tukhari Turks, who stamped their name 'Tukharistan' on the north western regions (Afghanistan). The Kadphises of the Yuechi Kushans invaded the Parthians by 60 A.D. and conquered Kabul, but the Tukhari chiefs continued to rule the north western frontier regions until the middle of the 4th century.

Therefore, if these frontier regions from Kabul to Makran could in any way be regarded as having any common cultural features with Indian territories, it was because the rulers of these regions also held their sway on those territories. The different stocks of the Turk tribes who held their sway on these regions were eventually subjugated by the Persian monarchs instead of the Indian rulers.

The sixth century saw the rise of two great powers, the Sassanians under Khusraw Nushirwan (531-579 A.D.) and the Western Turks under Khaqan or Khagan. They had crushed the Epthalities in Khurasan (Afghanistan). Khusraw Nausherwan invaded the territories of the Epthalites[7] and, with the help of the Great Khan of the Turks, inflicted upon these people, so long one of Persia's formidable foes, a severe defeat. According to Tabari, he slew the Epthalite monarch, ravaged his territory, and pillaged his treasures.[8] The Epthalites were also defeated in India,[9] and during the latter half of the sixth century they had lost their power and become vassals of either the Sassanian Emperors or of the Turkish Khaqan. The frontier regions extending into India, which under the Epthalites had become hostile to the Sassanids, were subjugated by the Khusraw. Sindh (including Makran), Bust, Rukkhaj (Arachosia), Zabulistan, Tukharistan, Dardistan and Kabulistan were brought under Persian suzerainty.[10] This was during the reign of Khusraw Naushirwan (d.579 A.D.), and the suzerainty continued under his successor Khusraw Perviz (590-628 A.D.). Thus, by the end of the sixth century A.D., the Turkish influence was wiped out by the Sassanians. Since then there is no clear evidence of any of the Indian monarchs ruling in these north-western regions. Against this background, one may evaluate the account of the Chinese pilgrim Huein Tsang who visited these lands on his arrival in 630 A.D., just two years after the death of

Khusraw Perviz (628 A.D.) and again on his return in 643 A.D.

As Huein Tsang proceeded towards India he found the entire region north of Hindukush under the control of Khagan, the Emperor of the Western Turks. Again travelling eastward from Bamian and emerging through the snowy mountains and crossings a black range, he reached the kingdom of Kapishih or Kia-pi-Shi, that is the kingdom of Ka-bul-Shah. It was 4000 li in circuit and comprised of ten districts. Kia-pi-shi proper was more or less identical with Kabulistan and was bounded by Bamian on the west, Ghazna on the South, Jalalabad on the East and Hindukush on the North; it probably included the whole of Kafiristan within it.[11] Along with its tributery States, Kiapishi was no doubt more extensive, but Cunnigham would seem to have overstated his view when, attempting to include within Kia-pi-Shi all the other unnamed divisions.[12] Thus, he has placed the whole of Afghanistan, from Bamian and Kandhar on the West to the Bolan pass on the South, "within Kia-pi-Shi".

But Qandhar, which probably included Bolan and was contiguous with the Kingdom of Zabulistan and Ghazni, was directly under the control of Persia ever since the 6th century.[13] Zabulistan was a separate State distinct from Kabulistan and was not included within Kia-pi-shi or Ka-bul-Shah which had recently passed on under the suzerainty of Persia.[14]

According to Beruni, the Kings of the line of Kaniska had taken the title of 'Shah', which might have been borrowed from the Persians.[15] The title was probably conferred upon them by the Kayani Emperors of Persia. For, according to Ibn Khurdazbeh, Ardshir-II (379-81-

A.D.) had conferred the title "Shah" on various kings, such as Kufrashah in Kirman, Mukran Shah in Sind, Kabulan Shah, Rahan Shah in India, Qiqan Shah in Sind, Dawar Shah of Dawar, and Qashmiran Shah (in Kashmir).[16] Ardshir's granting of the title of 'Shah' to the kings of Kabul would confirm their rise in the 4th century. For, according to Beruni, when they gained power,they began to rule under the title of "Shah". That they rose in power following the extinction of the line of Kanishka, after the middle of the 4th century, is confirmed by the fact that the title of 'Shah' was conferred upon them by Ardshir-II (379-381 A.D.).

As their originator came from Tibet, he was naturally a Buddhist by religion, and it is surprising how Huein Tsang calls him Kashtrya. Huein Tsang's terminology may mean that he belonged to the ruling class. The Brahman line began with Kallar in the latter half of the 9th century. When the Muslim armies advanced against Kabulistan, the king was of the Brahman line though still bearing the title of 'Kabul Shah.[17] Kabulistan was one of the regions dominated by the Turks.[18]

Kia-pi-Shi (Kabul-Shah)

During 630/44 A.D., the following were the tributary States of Kia-pi-shi as recorded by Huein Tsang:

Lamghan: Proceeding from Kia-pi-shi eastward, Huein Tsang arrived in Lanpo (Lampa or Lampaka, the modern Lamghan district).

Na-Ka-lo-ho: (Nagarhara). From Lamghan, going south-eastward, Huein Tsang reached Na-Ka-lo-ho

(Nagarhara or the modern Jalalabad district) which had no king and was a part of Kia-pi-shi or Nungnehar.[19]

Gandhara: Travelling south-eastward from Na-ka-lo-ho, Huein Tsang arrived in the country of Kan-to-lo or Gandhara which, in the east, touched the Sin-tu or Sindhu river. The capital town Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo (Fo-len-sha of Fa-Hian in 400 A.D.) or Peshawar. When Song Yun visited the country in early sixth century, 'the King of Gandhara was at war with the king of Kipin or Kophane', that is, Kabul and Ghazna and the surrounding districts.[20] The overlords of Kipin or Kophane, then, were the Epthalites or White Huns before whom the Turki Shahs had retreated to Gandhara from whence they could offer resistance. But the Ye-tha (the Epthalites), powerful as they were, devastated Gandhara and according to Song Yun set up their own representative to rule the country.[21] When the Sassanid Emperor Khusraw Naushirwan (531-579- A.D.) subjugated the Epthalites, the Turki Shahs regained Kabulistan and ruled under the patronage of the Sassanian Emperors.[22]

The Gandhara Kingdom continued to survive despite its precarious political fortune, and provided a safe refuge, behind the Khyber, to the hardpressed rulers of Kia-pi-shi (Kabulistan). Purshapura was Gandhara's capital when Huein Tsang visited it. Subsequently it ceased to be the capital but survived as an important provincial town.[23] As a capital, it was supplanted by Udakhanda which was also visited by Huein Tsang who described its southern part abutting on the river Indus.[24]

Both the Gandhara Kingdom and its later Shahiya capital of Udakhanda have been referred to by the Muslim historians. Thus, when Istakhari says that 'Qandhar and Qashmir' are the two cities in India,[25] or when the author of

al-Bada'wa al-Tarikh mentions 'the kings of Qannauj and Qandhar' among the great kings of India,[26] or when Mas'udi says that thee sources of river Mihran (The Indus with its tributaries) lie in 'Qashmir and Qandhar',[27] definitely Gandhara is meant. Some times the distinction is made by referring to Gandhara as 'Qandhar lying in India',[28] while Qandhar in Afghanistan is referred to as a town of Sindh.[29] The capital of Gandhara is invariably mentioned as Wai-Handa or Au-Hinda (the same as Uda-Khanda of Huein Tsang).[30] According to al-Maqdisi, Wai-Handa 'was larger than al-Mansura (the capital of Sind), and was surrounded with gardens and intersected by canals'.[31] According to Yaqut, the territory 'with Auhand as its capital', was a part of the kingdom of Kabul,[32] which would mean that later on it was under the Hindu Shahis of Kabul.

Fa-la-na

This was the province of Bannu, which was over 4000 li or 600 miles in circuit, and was subject to Kia-pi-shi (Kabulistan). In the days of Fa-Hian (400 A.D.), who called it Poona, 'the kingdom of Bannu' was limited to the lower valley of Kurram river, the upper part of the valley being a separate district called Lo-i or Roh. But at the time of Huein Tsang's visit, when it had a circuit of more than 600 miles, its boundaries included the large valleys of both the Kurram as well as the Gomal rivers "extending from the Koh or little snowy mountains of Fa-Hian, to Sivestan on the south, and from the frontier of Ghazni and Kandhar on the west to the Indus on the east".[33] Bannu was the southern most province of Kia-pi-shi. Its capital city Bannu (or Bannah of Baladhuri), which lay between Multan and Kabul, was conquered by Umayyad General Muhallab b. Abi Sufra in 44 A.H. (664),[34] 34 years after Huein Tsang's visit.

Tsao-ku-ta or Tso-li (Ghazna)

This was Zabulistan with its capital at Ho-si-na (Ghazi-na).[35] Tsao-ku-ta, or Tsau-ku-cha of Huein Tsang, may be taken as a varied nomenclature for Sa-ko-sia, i.e. Sa-ka-stan (Seistan) of which it (Zabulistan) was the eastern part (ethnologically), while Tsao-li- was Zauli,[36] that is Zabulistan. Huein Tsang had pronounced in his own way the names which these kingdoms already possessed. Thus, if his Kia-pi-shi was the corrupt name of the kingdom of Ka-bul-Shah or Kabulistan, his Tsao-li may indeed stand for Zauli, the kingdom of Za-bul-Shah or Zabulistan. Just as Kabulistan was the kingdom Kabul, Zabulistan was the kingdom of Ghazna.[37]

After considering the geographical position of the States mentioned by Huein Tsang, one may turn to their political status. The ruler of Kia-pi-shi or the kingdom of Kabulistan was Kabul-Shah who was a Turk belonging to the stock of the Kushans of Yue-chi. He was not a Hindu but a Buddhist by religion. When Huein Tsang described him as Kashtrya he meant that he was a ruler and a warrior.

While one is on surer grounds that the Turk Shahs ruled Kabulistan in 7th/8th century and onwards, the history of Zabulistan during this period is obsecure. For even Huein Tsang, far from indicating the line of rulers or the extent of their kingdom, only makes a vague reference to its name as Tsu-ku-cha or Tsao-li. However, it may be understood from his account that the Kingdom of Zabulistan was equally large and had friendly relations with the ruler of Kia-pi-shi who accompanied the Chinese pilgrim on his return from Udakhanda via Bannu and, crossing through Tsao-ku-ta or Zabulistan, he saw off Huein Tsang from the frontiers of Kia-pi-shi.

So far as its boundaries were concerned, Zabulistan comprised the region around Ghazna extending along the upper valley of the Helmand River. On the North, it was bounded by the Kingdom of Kabulistan; on the East, by the territories of Fa-la-na or Bannu; on the South, lay the regions of Kiz-kanan and O-pie-kan; on the South-West, the outlying provinces of Seistan such as al-Rukkhaj (Arachoasia), Bust, and Dawar; and to the West, the mountains of Ghur. But when the Sassanid power had declined, the outlying provinces of Seistan, that is Bust and Rukkhaj, became a bone of contention between the ruler of Zabulistan and the Muslim Governors of Seistan. For atleast some years in the beginning, they were completely dominated by the King of Zabulistan. But who were the kings ruling Zabulistan?

Although it is not possible to construct a detailed history of Zabulistan, there is hardly any doubt that a separate kingdom flourished there with a long line of powerful kings.[38] Shah-i-Tigin had extended his sway on some parts of Takan/Takkadesha (northern Punjab). That the king of Kabulistan had accompanied Huein Tsang to Zabulistan, (and from there to the frontiers of his own kingdom), indicates that the rulers of these two twin States belonged to the same stock of the Kushan Yue-chis. The Shah-i dynasty of Zabulistan to which Shah-i-Tigin belonged becomes known as 'Zabul Shahs', just as the rulers of Kabul were called 'Kabul Shahs'.

Ki-Kiang-na or Ki-Kanan and O-pi-Kian

Huein Tsang mentions two more countries and gives their relative positions with Fa-la-na (Bannu). The one was Ki-Kiang-na on the western frontiers of Bannu and the

other O-pe-Kian which he places between Fa-la-na and Ghazni, to the N.W of the former and to the S.E. of the latter.[39] The exact position of O-pi-Kian must necessarily depend, in the first instance, upon Huein Tsang's idea of the location and boundaries of Bannu and secondly upon the degree to which his statement of the direction could be correct. However, his account, as it stands, leads to the inference that O-pi-Kian was in the northernly direction of Ki-kiang-na or that Ki-kiang-na was southward of O-pi-Kian. Also according to Huein Tsang, O-pi-Kian lay between Ghazna and Bannu and was contiguous with Bannu.

Keeping this data in view, it may be surmized that O-pi-Kian was, more properly, situated a little to the south-west, instead of exactly to the west of Bannu. Again considering that the river Gomal formed the southern boundary of Bannu, Ki-Kiang-na virtually occupied its southern and south-western regions extending to the valley of Zhob river westward and the Sulaiman Range. O-pi-Kian which was northward of Ki-Kiang-na, south of Ghazni and South-west of Bannu, covered the Roh province south of the source of Tochi, with its apex at Vorgun or Vergin of Wiford's surveyor[40] and Urgun of Holdich,[41] extending southward along the eastern side of the Khoja Imran ranges.

These were the northern frontiers of these two countries: their southern frontiers can be identified from the more clear accounts of the Arab historians. Ki-kiang-na of Huein Tsang was undoubtedly Ki-Ka-nan (كيكانان) of the Arab historians[42] while his O-pi-Kian, or A-va-kan as rendered by M. Julian,[43] was al-Bu-qan (البوقان). That KiKanan was the name applied to the whole mountainous region including the Sulaiman Range, extending southward from Gomal river right up to Kalat as borne out by

numerous references in the Arab sources. Fathnama mentions this region invariably as 'Kikanan mountains'.[44] Thus there is a Mountain Range in the territories of Sindh known as Kikanan[45] and that in the days of the Rai dynasty (6th century A.D.), " the eastern boundaries of the Sindhian kingdom extended up to Kashmir, the western up to Makran and the northern up to the mountain ranges of Kurdan and Kikanan".[46]

According to Fathnama, Kikanan was also contiguous with the Budhiya region of Sind.[47] Later on, these outlying regions of Kikanan had become a part of Sindh. According to Baladhuri, "Al-Qiqan (Kikan/Kikanan) is one of the territories of Sind bordering on Khurasan".[48]

We may now turn to the southern boundaries of Kikanan. According to al-Bada-wa-al-Tarikh, "adjacent to Kirman is Mukran which extends as far as Qiqanan, the land of Sind".[49] This is also stated by Ibn Haukal and confirmed by Yaqut that the length of Makran from Tiz up to Qusdar (Khuzdar) is twelve stages.[50] Thus, the eastern limit of Makran was Qusdar which, as a province was more accurately called Turan,[51] and formed a part of Sindh. Indeed, proceeding from Kirman eastward, there was the land of Makran and then the province of Turan[52] which formed a part of the Qiqan (Kikan) region and divided the boundaries of the provinces of Makran and Sind.

The western boundary of Sind[53] terminated with the eastern boundaries of its N.W. district of Buddha, of which the frontier town was Qandabil.[54] It was due to its conspicuous location that sometimes Qandabil was regarded as a town of Turan,[55] though it was predominantly a market town of Buddha.[56]

Thus, the intervening region between the provinces of Makran and Sindh comprised of the division of Turan, extending from Qusdar to the town of Kizkanan (precursor of Kalat) and a fringe of the adjacent territory of Qandabil including a *rustak* (tract) between Qandabil and Kizkanan, which was known as Uttal.[57] The name of the modern 'Uthal' town of the Las Bela district is likely to be a reminicent of old 'Uttal'. This entire region was the southern part of Qiqan / Kikanan. The author of al-Bada wa al-Tarikh has rightly remarked that "to the south of Sijistan lies Mukran and Qiqan".[58]

Thus, the country of Kikanan extended from Gomal River in the north to the territories of Qandabil and Turan in the south. It was the country of the Turk tribes since Kikanan and its Turk people, find a joint reference in Baladhuri.[59] In the north, Kabulistan and Zabulistan were predominantly Turkish in population. In the regions of Kabul, Ghur, and Dawar (adjacent to northern Siestan), the Turk tribes had settled down since ancient times.[60] South-eastward, they had occupied the regions of Bust and al-Rukhaj[61] (Arachosia) and also moved on to the southern parts of Zabulistan and kingdom of Rutbil. The Turk population of this region still formed the backbone of Rutbil's army when he was engaged in warfare with the Arab commanders.[62] Their southern most habitats extended as far as Turan and the territories of Qandabil. In the long past, Qandabil had been founded by the Kayanid Persian monarch Bahram in order to mark a boundary line between the Turks and those of the Indic origin[63] (of the Buddha province of Sind). Thus, Qandabil had roughly marked the frontier of the Turkish dominated region of Kikanan from ancient days. Gomal River was the northern boundary of Kikanan and it was there that the Arab General Muhallab, while returning from his expedition between Multan and

Kabul through the Gomal valley, had an encounter with the Kikanian Turks.[64] This also confirms that Kikanan included "the Sulemani range to the south of Gomal".[65]

Ibn Khurdazbeh records that in the early Sassanid period, Ardshir had given the title of 'Qiqan Shah' to some powerful local ruler of the region.[66] That was long ago, but even in later times these intractible Turk tribes did not recognize any external authority. And yet, on account of their mountainous strongholds they very strong and aggressive.[67] Therefore, the attacks of the Arab commanders were directed against them.

The Arab warriors effected their entry into Kikanan through a Mountain Pass in the range of 'Koh Payah'.[68] It is to be noted that the locally well known ancient Pass for crossing Ros Imran/Ros Koh Mountain Range from the side of Seistan and Helmand River to Kharan and Khuzdar is the Jhalower/Jhalowar Pass which is located about seventy kilometers S.W. of the city of Kharan. This is the Kikanian Pass referred to in Fathnama.

The two descriptive words used in Fathnama for the Pass are *darb* and *katab*, the former meaning 'a difficult pass through mountains' and the latter as 'a channel hollowed out by a torrent, partly under water and partly dry'. Takab-i-Kikanian is specifically mentioned.[69]

Now Jhalowar Pass is a gorge like pass cut by the hill torrent running from west to east. On its emergence from the mountain range in the east, the torrent spreads out into an open valley. The site is marked by the ruins of a town on the northern side while there is a graveyard on the southern side with a brick dome burial of the fifth century A.H.(?). As one proceeds westward from here, following the flat

gorge, one comes across the ruins of a fortress on the left (southern) side, its structure appeared to be of the 10th/16th century. Proceeding further westward, one negotiates a comparatively narrower gorge, with small pools of rain water accumulated in between and flanked by heavy black stone boulders on the right. On some of them are preserved the hard cut Arabic writings left by soldiers/traders of the past who had crossed from here during the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Hijra centuries*.

The name of the capital of Kikanan (with a slight variation in its pronunciation) was 'Kizkanan'. Later on, it became an important town of the Qusdar/Turan region.[70] Being the seat of the ruler,[71] it was more important than Qusdar. It may be noted that Kizkanan was not the name of the region as surmised by Elliot.[72] The country was Kikanan while the capital town was Kizkanan. In all

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* Only the following few surviving writings could be deciphered by me during my visit on 7th April 1999:

- احمد بن محمد ابو - سلال(؟) ابو سعد - يافع(؟) سليمان

- The following Hijra years at the end of some writings were read:

- ثلثمئ - اربع مائه - خمس مائه

- The following writing in Arabic dated "Sunday eleven days remaining from the month of Muharram 406 AD" written by Sahl b. Umar b. Abi Talib

اللهم.... اني سهل بن عمر بن ابي طالب
و□ب يوم الاحد لاحدي عشر بقين من شهر المحرم
سنه سته واربع مائه

- The following writing in Persian dated the month of Safar 506 A.H.

يادگار عيسي بن احمد
باب ررکو احشي کخبط (؟)
ابن.....الکرم
مر سنه..... س بهانه يادگار
تاريخ ماه صفر سته و خمس ماذ□

probability, it was the precursor of the town of Kalat which remained the capital of the Kalat State in later times.

Al-Buqan

O-pi-Kian of Huein Tsang was al-Buqan of the Arab record. It extended to the south of Ghazna and Bannu. On the west, it was bounded by the Khoja Imran range, and was contiguous with the territories of Qandhar; more southward it extended to the territories of al-Rukkhaj, an outlying province of Seistan, and the Desert of Seistan below it. Thus, as observed by al-Hazmi, 'al-Buqan lies on the outskirts of Sijistan.[73] Very likely, al-Buqan extended to the north of the Nushki pass. It was bounded by Khoja Imran range on the west and the Suleman ranges on the East. Thus, it included the whole of the old Walishtan or Walistan, also known as Belis, which lay westward of Multan and southward of Ghazna.[74] It had six important district towns of Ibshin (Pishin), Ishbija, Mustunk (Mastung), Shal (Quetta) Skaira, and Siwa (Sibi).[75]

Makran

To the northwest of Sind, between the Arabian sea and 'Mukran' of the Arab record, was Gedrosia of the Greek historians and possibly Lang-Kie-Lo of Huein Tsang. It was subject to the kingdom of Persia according to Huein Tsang and Ho-mo, identified with Ormuz,[76] was a border town of Gedroisa and Persia. Earlier the whole of Makran, from Hormuz to the borders of Sindh, including even the port of Debal (Daibul), formed a part of the Kirman Satrapy of Persia.[77] But with the decline of the Persian Empire, a part of eastern Makran as far as Fanzabur (Panjpur / Punjgur)[78] was dominated by the Sindhian ruler. It was the Northern Makran adjacent to Kirman which still formed a part of the Persian Empire when the Arab

Commanders reached this Front. Thus, Makran stood divided into two parts- the North-Western or the Persian Makran and the South-Eastern or the Sindhian Makran. The boundary between the two more or less coincided with the present political boundary between Persia and Balochistan (Pakistan).

The Persian Makran extended from Hurmoz to Tiz on the coastline and from the Makran Desert (Dasht-e-Makran) to the district (rustak) of Jalak (or Jalaq'/Zalaq) which was under a Persian dihqan or fuedal chief. Jalak commanded the strategic position between the boundaries of Persian Makran and Sijistan, the boundary line of the latter running 5 farsakhs (7 or 8 miles) north of the town of Jalak.[79] To the east of Jalak stretched the Sindhian Makran[80] and on the south was the port of Tiz (situated about 100 miles westward)[81].

The Sindhian Makran stretched from Tiz on the coastline right up to Turan to the northeast. Directly eastward, it extended from Tiz, through the territories of Armabil (or the modern Las Bela); to the boundary of the Sindhian province of Debal (Daibul). It was from Debal that Rasal used to rule the Sindhian Makran and was followed by the Brahman kings of Sindh. Formerly, Panjgur had been the advanced outpost of the Sindhian rulers, and when the Arabs advanced into Persian Makran, Rasal led his army to help the ruler of Persian Makran and also to extend his own sway beyond Panjgur, right up to the Mushkal River.

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1. Cunningham, pp.17-18.
2. Ibid, p.18.
3. Bennet, Antiquities of India, p.39.
4. Tarikh Seistan, fn, p.22.
5. Yaqut, Buldan under (ماسكان). Yaqut, quoting Hamza, says that Sijistan was originally called Sakan or Mah Sakan,
(ماسكان) قال حمزه ماه سكان اسم لسجستان و سجستان تسمي سـ□ان وما سكان ايضا
(ياقوت، معجم البلدان 294x4.)
6. According to Bennet (p.41), Sakas were originally a tribe of Turki (pastoral) dwelling north of the Upper Jaxartes.
7. This war raged in 562 A.D. Cf. Rawlinson: *Seventh Monarchy*, p.422, fn.3.
8. Tabari, Chronique, Vol.II, p.162. Also Rawlinson: *Seventh Monarchy*, pp.422, 427.
9. Ray, pp.60-61.
10. Tabari, I/894; also cf. Ghurar p.610, Farsnama p.94, and Ibn Khaldun II/176.
11. Arab Invasion, p.5.
12. Cunningham, pp.19/20.
13. Cunningham, pp.19/20 & fn., p.20.
14. Tabari, I/894.
15. *Vaidya*, II/158.
16. Ibn Khuradzbeh, pp.17-18. Subsequently, the Sassanid Emperor Khusraw Naushirwan, in accordance with the past tradition had also bestowed the title of 'Shah' on various rulers under his imperial patronage (Vide *Hamza*, Kaviyani, p.40).
17. *Kabul-Shah* remained the title of the ruler until the end of the 2nd century A.H. "In 176 A.H., al-Fadl b. Yahya, the Governor of Khurasan for (Harun) al-Rashid dispatched troops to the territory of Kabul-Shah (Yaqubi, *Buldan* pp.289-91; also cf. *al-Istakhari*, p.39).

18. Al-Bakri, *al-Mu' jam*, II/466.

19. "It is generally agreed that this country is represented by the modern district called Nungnehar and thus included the present district of Jalalabad, the Valley of the Kabul river from Darunta on the West to Mirza Kheyl on the east. And, according to Mr.Simpson, 'It might reach from about Jugduluck to the Khyber" (Arab Invasion, p.5). In the detailed description of Jalalabad by G.H. Mac Gregor (JASB1844", XIII/2, pp.867-80): "The country which is subject to the control of the Governor of Jalalabad is the Valley of the Kabul river, but it is generally termed Ningrahar, or Nunginhar, the former being a corruption of the latter word, which signifies in the Afghan language miner rivers or rivulets, and has reference to those by which the valley is intersected". The Babar-nama (V. Minorsky, p.161) gives both (Ningnahar) and (Nagarahar). Huein Tsang's Na-Ka-lo-ho i.e Nagarhara (cf.Watters pp.182/90) was a famous centre of Budhist cult. (V.Minorsky: *Hudud-al-Alam*, Gibb Memorial, pp.252-53).

20. Cunningham, p.90.

21. Ray, pp.60-61.

22. As recorded by Tabari, Kabulistan under the Epthalities had become independent of Persia and it was under Khusraw Naushirwan that it was brought back under the political influence of Persia. (Tabari Vol.II, p.162).

23. In 10th century, it is mentioned by Masudi (Paris ed.) as (پورشاپور) (Purshapur); Beruni has (Purshwar) (پرشاور) in al-Hind, pp.101,103 & (India I/209) followed by Rashiduddin (Elliot, I/47); Tarikh Jehan-Kushai (II/63) has (پرشاوور) Parshawoor) in 470 A.H.; the author of Nuzhat al-Qulub has (فرشاوور) (Farshawoor) (text pp.254, 59 & translation 245-252); Tarikh-e-Mubarakshahi (p.5) has فرشور (Parshor). Subsequently it is mentioned by Babar and has also been referred to in the Ain-e-Akbari (II/346) in the 16th century A.D.

24. Cunningham, p.61.

25. *al-Istakhari*, p.68.

26. *al-Bada wa al-Tarikh,* p.62.

27. Mas'udi: Muruj (Egypt Ed.) I/59 & Tanbih , p.55.

28. Also cf. Ibn Rustah, p.87.

29. Yaqut, *Buldan* (under قندهار).

30. 'The original name was Udaka Bhanda; Rajatrangni mentions Udabhandapura' (Notes on Cunnigham p.677) while Huein Tsang called it Uda-Khanda. The Muslim writers also pronounced it variously as Waihand or Wai-hind (al-Maqdisi, p.480). Hudud al-Alam, Eng. Translation, p.92 (In the Tehran text, p.46, it is War-Hind (ورهند), or Auhand or Auhind (اوهند). Beruni has Oaihind (اواهند) or Waihind (ويهند).

31. al-Maqdisi, p.480. According to him, Waihand is also the name of the province having many towns under it (p.477). He pointed out this in order to clear the misunderstanding which arose due to the variety of pronunciations. He says that geographer al-Farsi called it 'al-Hind' and, therefore, erroneously included within it the towns of India (p.477). But al-Farsi might have rightly heard it pronounced as 'al Hind' instead of Wai-hind, just as both Court and Burnes heard it as 'Hund' and so also Loewnthal who styled 'Ohind' as an incorrect pronunciation. Yet M. Jullian wrote 'Ohind' and Mirza Mughal Beg, the able surveyor of Wilford in 1790 also heard it pronounced as Ohind. Cunnigham heard it as Wahand (*Cunnigham*, p.61).

32. Yaqut, Buldan, under 'Kabul'.(كابل تشتمل كناحيه و منهتها العظمى اوهند)

33. Cunnigham pp.97-98. Identification of Fa-la-na with Bannu is certain and Cunnighm's surmise is accurate. "There is no doubt that Pa-la-na corresponds to Varnnu, the name of a country of Panini,, and it has to be identified with the mountainous regions to the west of Indus, round the present Banny district" (Majumdar, Arab Invasion p.6). The identification of Fa-la-na with Vaneh or Vannah which lies S.S.E. of Ghazni etc., has been suggested in Elphinstone's Kabul' (II/156-58).

34. Baladhuri, pp.432.33.

35. Ray, p.61.

36. Cf. Watters: H.Tsang, Vol.II/p.265.

37. Since ancient times, the region contiguous with Sijistan and its provinces on the N.W., was known as Zabulistan, and the Persian monarch Bahman starting from Seistan (a part of the Persian Kingdom) northwards, waged wars with the southern territories of Zabulistan (vide Hamza., p.18).Ghazna was indeed the heart of Zabulistan (Qalqashandi, IV/397) and for that reason Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna was known as Zabulistani (i.e belonging to Zabulistan). The author of Hudud-al-Alam states that" Ghazni and

the adjoining territories are called Zabulistan" (Persian Text, Iran Ed.p.64); also Ibn al-Athir III/221; and Tarikh-Seistan p.308 & fn.

38. *Arab Invasion* (p.8) after Cunningham: "Coins of the Indo Scythains".

39. Cunningham, p.100.

40. Loz. cit..

41. Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas: *Gates of India* (the map).

42. Thus rightly identified by Elliot (I/382) who, however, confounds Kizkanan, the town, with Kikanan the country and is followed by M.Vivien de St. Martin (Cunningham, p.100).

43. Cunningham attempts to identify it with 'Afghan', which is fraught with difficulties (vide Cunningham, pp.101-103).

44. Fathnama (ed. Baloch N.A., Islamabad, 1982), pp.55-56, 59, 149.

45. Ibid, p.56.

46. Ibid, pp.10, 55.

47. Cf. Fathnama (p.149) which refers to "Budhiya Kikanan side".

48. Baladhuri, Text p.432 & Tr.II/260. Also cf. al-Iqd, III/358: (وراء السند من آخر خراسان مابين المغرب والمشرق).

49. al-Bada wa al-Tarikh, IV/77.

50. Ibn Haukal p.234; also Yaqut, Buldan, III/166.

51. Ibn Haukal p.233 followed by Subh-al-A'sha V/66 and al-Maqdisi pp.478 & 476, Yaqut, Buldan (III/557) and al-Mushtarak, p.296.

52. Yaqut, Buldan, III/166.

53. The early geographers make a fine distinction between Sind as a country which was very extensive comprising numerous provinces and Sind as a province which roughly speaking was equivalent to modern Sindh.

54. Ibn Haukal p.231. Kikanan was contiguous with the Buddha province of Sindh and hence the mention of "Budhia and Kikanan" in Fathnama (p.10).

55. Yaqat, Buldan, III/354 and al-Maqdisi, p.476.

56. Ibn Haukal, p.231. Though Qandabil was predominantly a market town of Buddhia and was generally included within it, the

distinctive location of town of Qandabil and the tract around made its position a conspicuous one. (cf. Ibn Haukal, p.233).

وقندابيل مدين□ كبيره وليس بها نخيل وهي في بري□)
منفرده بناتها واعمالها)

57. Ibn Haukal, p.233.

58. *Al Bada' wa al-Tarikh*, IV/77.

59. Baladhuri, pp.432-33.

60. *Istakhari*, pp.244-45; also *Mu'jam-ma-Ista'jam*, II/466.

61. Mas'udi, *Muruj*, V/302.

62. *Tarikh-e-Seistan*, p.105.

63. *Mujmal-al-Tawarikh*, p.117.

64. Baladhuri, p.432.

65. Elliot I/383.

66. Ibn Khurdazbeh, pp.17-18.

67. They have been referred to as "Turks of Qiqan" (Baladhuri p.433), or people of mountainous regions (مردمان كوه) or as Kikannians (كيكانيان). (Vide Fatehnama, p.77-79).

68. Fathnama, p.55.

69. On 8 April 1999, I visited the Jhalowar Pass which meets this description. It is located in the Ros Koh/Kalag Mount Range, to the south of the Pass presently used for crossing from Kharan to Dalbandin. From ancient times the Jhalowar Pass has linked (from the West) the present Chaghi district of Pakistan (beyond which lie the Helmand River and the Zabul district of Afghanistan) with the Kharan and Khuzdar (Qusdar) districts of Pakistan on the East.

70. Ibn Haukal, p.226, Istakhari, p.171; al-Maqdisi p.478; and Yaqut, Buldan, IV/332.

71. Ibn Haukal, p.232.

72. Elliot, I/352.

73. al-Hazmi is quoted by Yaqut (Buldan, under) (بوقان) who, however, differs from al-Hazmi in so far as the *nisba* under question is concerned.

74. Istakhari, pp.179 & 244.

75. Al-Maqdisi, p.297.

76. *Arab Invasion*, p.7.

77. Under the reign of Bahramgur and then again under the reign of Khusraw Anisherwan.

78. Fatahnama, p.49.

79. Baladhuri, p.393.

80. Ibn Rustah, p.87,

اخر حد فارس ينتهي إلي جزبره بقال لها تيز مكران ومن هناک بعد اول حد السند Also cf. Yaqut, Buldan under البدهته. Tiz (تيز) is probably the (ثارا) of Istakhari (p.62).

من ارموز الي ثارا ميسره سبع ايام وهي الحدبين فارس والسند

ومن ثارا الي الديبل ميسره ثمانيه ايام (الاصطخري، ص.62)

81. Gates of India, op. cit, p.299.

III

THE TURKISH STATES AND PRINCIPALITIES DURING THE 7TH-10TH CENTURIES A.D.*

In ancient past, the regions extending to the east/south-east of Iran, through the present day Pakistan and Afghanistan towards the Oxus, were inhabited by the ethnic stocks, related or otherwise, belonging mainly to the Turkish race, who had stamped their ethnic name TUR on these vast regions which became known as TURAN or TURKLAND. After the domination of the 'Kaushanas', these regions came to be called Khurasan. Yet the ancient name 'Turan' did not disappear altogether. It was very much in vogue during the 7th-10th centuries A.D., not only as a legacy of the ancient past (as projected by Firdusi in his Shahnama through the epic of Rustam and Suhrab, the two heros of Iran and Turan respectively), but as a fact of contemporary history and geography since one of the regions of ancient TURAN is still known by the name of 'Turan'. This is the region of Khuzdar in the present Balochistan Province of Pakistan.

The Early Turkish States

From the 7th/8th centuries A.D., or earlier, the different Turkish stocks in the different regions had retained their ethnic identity in their own areas of occupation, their States

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and Principalities, which constituted a massive ethno-political buffer between the Iranian peoples to the north-west and those of the Indic origin to the south-east. Extending from east to west in the upper northern belt (present Afghanistan) were the three kingdoms of Zabul or Zabulistan, Kabul or Kabulistan, and Bamiyan. Running parallel to these in the southern belt (present Balochistan, in Pakistan) were the principalities of Koh Payah, Turan, Kikan or Kikanan, and Buqan. These apparently geographic names also carried the different ethnic connotations.

Kabul or Kabulistan. As the origin of the word 'Kabul' is not known, an ethnic connotation may be suspected in it in so tar as the derived term 'Kabulistan' signifies the country inhabited by the 'Kabuls'.[1] According to the tradition recorded by Beruni (to be examined hereafter), Barhatigin the first ancestor of the early Turk rulers of Kabul had hailed 'from Tibet' (i.e. from the side of Tibet) and, as such, it may be surmised that these rulers (who were late comers in the region) belonged to a 'northern stock of Turks'. The, local population was already Turkish (before whom Barhatigin also appeared in a Turkish dress) and this situation had not changed up to the 7th century A.D. when the people of the kingdom of Kabul were still Turks. An early authority, Khalifah b. Khayyat (d.240 A.H.) has recorded in his Tarikh, that in the year 46 A.H. (666 A.D.) 'The Turks and Kabulshah' had overwhelmed the Muslim force there and ousted them from Kabul.[2]

Huein Tsang being the only authority who has left a historical but confused account of India and its northern frontiers in the early thirties of the seventh century, the modern researcher has been too enthusiastic to interpret his observations liberally. According to Huein Tsang, the King

of Kia-pi-shi was a Kashtriya and a Buddhist. As this statement involves an opinion which must materially affect the correct interpretation of its history, it needs corroboration from independent sources. And yet Cunningham has not only accepted this statement *per see* but rather capitalized upon it. According to him, the King of Kia-pi-Shi was Kshatirya or "pure Hindu" because a Brahmin dynasty was ruling Kabul in the tenth century. And further, due to this 'pure Hindu' king of Cunningham's fancy, even "the Indian language and religion was predominant in the whole of Afghanistan from Bamian and Kandhar on the west to the Bolan pass on the south"[3]. Indeed too much has been read into Huein Tsang's references and still Cunningham's view has been readily accepted by some of the eminent historians. It has already been pointed out that all these North-Western countries bordering the Subcontinent were dominated by the Turkish Kings and that the dominance of a Hindu King in these regions is almost out of question. Events of the past history strongly suggest that Ka-bul-Shah or the King of Kia-pi-shi was a non-Indian and a Turk. Ka-bul-Shah, the contemporary of Huein Tsang, in fact, belonged to the line of Kanishka which had continued on until the middle of the nineth century when it was supplanted by the Brahmans.[4] For, another Chinese pilgrim Ou Ko'ng who visited Afghanistan in 753 A.D. states that the eastern capital of Kipin, not improbably the same as Kipisi, was in Gandhara and that the reigning king of Gandhara was a descendent of Kanishka[5].

The more accurate researches of Beruni confirm the account of Ou-Ko'ng independently. According to Beruni, the kings of Kabul were Turks by origin and originally belonged to Tibet, and the first of them was Bartha-ti-gin who entered a cave at Kabul known as Phar. He then

dominated these parts under the title of 'Shah of Kabul' and thereafter the Kingdom remained in the hands of his descendents for centuries..... From amongst them was Kanik, the same one to whom the *Bahar* (the Buddhist monastery at Peshawar) is attributed ....The last of them was Lagturman who was imprisoned by his minister Kallar who then usurped the kingdom[6]. This statement of Beruni clearly indicates that the kings of Kabul were of the same line as Kanishka, and were Turks by origin and had been ruling there for centuries. If it were the line of Kanishka, then, quite probably, they were of the Turki branch of the Yue-chi of Kushans who had supplanted the Sakas in the later half of the 2nd century B.C.[7]

This same Turki dynasty of the Ka-bul-Shahs was ruling Kabul when the Arabs arrived at its frontiers in the latter half of the seventh century A.D.: for, it was not until the latter half of the nineth century that the last ruler of the Kabulshahi Turks was supplanted by the Brahman Kallar with whom originated the Brahman-Shahi dynasty.

Bamiyan. The neighbourly rulers of Bamiyan are likely to have belonged to a Turkish stock related to that of the Kabul rulers, and, as such, they did not suffer any attack from the letter. Their ruler's title SHIHR presumably carried an ethnic connotation.

After the Yuechi of Kushan, another Turkish stock, the Epthalites or White Huns, swept through the Kabul region and over-threw the Kushans (470 A.D.). Having established their capital at Bamiyan, they subjugated the whole of Herat (Ariana) and the Kabul region. Their King Taromana led a powerful invasion against Indian rulers through the Kabul Valley in 459 A.D. and even for a while eclipsed the Gupta Empire. The Chinese pilgrim Song Yun, the

ambassador of the Wei dynasty (366-556 A.D.), who visited their Capital, records that the Ye Tha (Epthalites) received tribute from forty neighbouring countries. Their powerful invasion had great repurcussions on the frontiers of India and also on Kan-to-lo, Gandhara (visited by Song-Yun in 520 A.D.), which was devastated by the Epthalites who had now set up a representative of their own to rule over the country[8].

Zabul or Zabulistan. The word 'Zabul' (like 'Kabul') similarly carried an ethnic connotation in the long past being the land of the Turkish clans of 'Zabuls'. The population there had remained predominently Turkish upto the 7th/8th centuries. Zabul or Zabulistan which included the Dawur, Rukhkhaj (i.e. Kandhar), and the Ghaznah regions was ruled by the line of Turkish kings who were known as 'Rutbils' (by their dynastic headship title) and as 'Zabulshah(s)' by the name of their peoples. They belonged to an indigenous stock of the Southern Turks, viz., the 'Dawuri Turks,[9] i.e. belonging to the territory of Dawur (Zamin-i-Dawur). Their army was also composed of Turk soldiers.

Culturally and ethnologically, the lands of Zabulistan did not differ from the lands of Kabulistan. 'The whole region lying between India, Siestan and Ghur was inhabited by Turki tribes upto the middle of the 4th century A.H. (10th century A.D.). Istakhari confirms that 'the inhabitants of this whole region are like Turks both in dress as well as in language'[10]. Numismatic evidence shows that some powerful rulers flourished in this region in the seventh century A.D. They used the old title 'Shah', and one of them, Shahi Tigin, called himself lord of 'India and Persia' (more properly, of 'Takan and Khurasan'). The rule of

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Shah-i- Tigin may be placed in the beginning of the seventh century.

Later on, by the middle of the seventh century, during the governorship of Ziyad in 53A.H./673 A.D., the Zabul Shahi house was supplanted by another Turki dynasty of the Rutbils who were strong at the initial stage of their rise to power. But who were the Rutbils?

There have been wild conjectures about the origin of the name *Rutbil*. The editor of *Turikh-e-Siestan* preferred the reading 'Zanbil' arguing that "Zintabil" may be the more correct form having been derived from the original "Zaindah-pil" meaning strong[11]. Others who are inclined to showing him to be a Hindu king have conjectured an Indic name for him. Thus, Raverty would suggest Zantbil' to be the variation of 'Ranthbil' or even of 'Ratan pal'[12].

On the other hand, the early Arab historians such as Baladhuri, Ya'qubi and Tabari who all wrote independently and whose works have been edited by erudite scholars have 'Rutbil' (رُتبيل) as the standard reading in all the texts[13], and so also in Masudi's important work Muruj al-Dhahb[14]. It cannot be 'Zanbil' (which is a word of Arabic origin)[15], or 'Zantbil' or any other form of 'Zindah-pil' which word was known to the Arab historians in its pronunciation of 'Zindabil' or Zandabil[16] along with its connotation[17]. As such, it would not have been corrupted to any other form by those authors who were also poets and scholars. Masudi's evidence is conclusive in this respect; for, he uses the two words 'Rutbil' (رتبيل) and Al-Zindabil' (الزندبيل) distinctly in his one and the same work[18]. Besides, there is the conclusive testimony of poet Farazdaq who was a contemporary of Rutbil. In one of his verses he refers to two rulers, the one being 'Rutbil of Sijistan'.

And the outcasts gathered together
To secure safety from Rutbil and Shihr[19].

This verse in original Arabic fixes the pronunciation because the laws of prosody will exlude (besides '*Rutbil*') any other variants. Finally, there is the lexicographical evidence which is conclusive in so far as the author of *Taj-al-Urus* has recorded the name (الرتبيل) under the root (رتبل) and adds the interesting information that one Rutbil b. Salih was a traditionalist[20] – a fact which shows that the name was later adopted by the Muslims.

'Rutbil' was the proper noun or a royal title, in the local Turki speech of Zabulistan of those days. In case of the ruler of Zabulistan, it was more probably, an honorific title in the same way as 'Khaqan' was amongst the Western Turks. Baladhuri clearly refers to the ruling monarchs of Zabulistan as 'Rutbil I, Rutbil II'[21]. Raverty's conjectures like 'Ratanpal' etc. based on the conception of the king being a 'Hindu' are evidently misplaced. Also there is little weight in the arguments advanced by H.C. Ray that the Rutbils were Hindu kings[22]. It may be argued that with their conquest of some Indian territories, they be regarded as 'Kings of Indians' and, for that reason, also as 'Kings of the Hindus' For, the territories of Zabulistan, which all along the East were bounded by the frontiers of 'Hind' and on the South-east by the frontiers of 'Sind' were vaguely styled as 'Indian' or even as 'Sindian teritories'[23]. The Rutbils were also called kings of Sijistan[24] because they had extended their sway over the outlying provinces of Sijistan. So also when they had subjugated a north-western fringe of the Indian territory, they became kings of Indians kings of Hindus. In this sense, Masudi also refers to them as 'kings of India'. Thus, when Rutbil was defeated by the

Arab commander Rabi b. Ziyad, he retired from Zabulistan to "the land of the Indians"[25], which was presumably under his sway. The less authoritative works even style the Rutbils as 'Kings of Sind and Kabul' because they had once dominated the frontiers of Kabul in the north and the frontiers of Sind in the south[26]. Rutbils were the kings of Zabulistan proper, but due to their conquest in Sijistan and on frontiers towards India, they were also styled as 'kings of Sijistan' and 'kings of India' .These epithets were political, and in the least ethnic: for, the Rutbils were neither the Persians of Sijistan nor the Hindus of India.

The dynastic change among the rulers of Ghazna had probably taken place at the end of the seventh century A.D. The Shahi dynasty of Zabulistan, or the 'Zabul-Shahis' to whom belonged Shah-i-Tigin, had been supplanted by the Rutbils. The Shahis of Ghazna have been referred to by the Arab historians by their title as 'Zabul Shahis' or merely as 'al-Shah' in order to distinguish them from the rulers of Kabul who are invariably referred to as 'Kabulshahs'. Thus, Tabari referring to the different rulers with whom the Muslims had been engaged in warfare, says: "The people of Egypt used to rally round al-Ajjal or Al-Ajjar (or al-Aggal), of Sind and Mukran round Rasal and Dahar, and of Eastern Sijistan round al-Shah and his relations of Khurasan, and of al-Budd round Khaqan"[27]. By Eastern Seijistan is meant the war front of Sijistan, and al-Shah was indeed Zabul Shah who was the ruler of Zabulistan and also held sway on the outlying provinces of Seistan, while Rasal and Dahar who were the rules of Sindh held Makran. As Rasal fought the battle of Makran in 23 A.H., we may presume that at that time al-Shah (Zabul Shah) also governed Eastern Seistan.

Between 30 and 45 A.H. (651-665), fratricidal struggle took place between Zabul Shah and his brother known as

Rutbil[28], and the power of the Shah was restrained. Thus, when the Arab General Abd al-Rahman arrived on the frontiers of Zabulistan for the first time by about 33 A.H[29], the Shah concluded a peace treaty with him. By 43/44 A.H., when Abd al-Rahman was appointed for the second time in Sijistan,' the ruler of Zabulistan had broken the earlier treaty[30]. He was Rutbil who had gained an upper hand though he had not yet mustered sufficient power, and was defeated by Abd al-Rahman. By about 46/47 A.H. when Rabia b. Ziyad was Governor in Seistan[31]. Rutbil made a sudden attack on the Seistan Front and advanced as far as Bust[32]. Obliviously, by now, Rutbil had completely dominated the Shah who was reduced to a figure head. Later, during the governorship of Salm b. Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan over Sijistan and Khurasan under the reign of Amir Mu'awiya, the Shah managed to escape and took refuge in Amul Wadan, situated between Zarang and the frontiers of Sijistan held by Salm. Then Salm concluded a new treaty of friendship with the Shah, settled him in the territories of Amul Wadan and wrote back to Amir Mu'awiya for confirmation[33], who, shrudely, did not entirely approve of the governor's policy; for, according to him, Amul Wadan was strategically situated and was vulnerable; moreover, these rulers did not honour the treaties and hence they could not be trusted. Howerever, he assented to the treaty made by Governor Salm, who was also a nephew[34]. The Shah now gained sufficient power and prestige, but subsequently when the Muslim power became weak during the last days of Yazid's reign, and particularly after his death (64 A.H.), the Shah turned apostate and imposed his independent rule on Amul Wadan and the adjacent territories. Now the old rivalry between Rutbil and the Shah was once more revived. Rutbil began to fear the Shah and took necessary steps to protect himself. This seems to have

been the situation by 65/66 A.H., after which the Shah is not heard of any more while Rutbil again rises to power.

The above account of Tabari throws light on the struggle between Rutbil and the Shah. The point to be noted is that the Zabul Shah dynasty was supplanted by the Rutbils in 45 A.H, (665 A.D.); that is, an important dynastic change had taken place after Zabul was visited by Huein Tsang.

Koh Payah. This principality situated to the north-east of Makran and contiguous with Seistan, on the south, was a mountanous region with narrow and difficult passes which led to the two neighbouring Turkish principalities of Turan and Kikan on the South. It covered most of the areas of the present Kharan and Nushki districts of Balochistan (Pakistan). Khalifah b. Khayyat mentions this region as Jibal al-Qaiqan (the mountains of the Kaikan people).[35] In Fathnama-i-Sind, this region is referred to as Koh Payah: "Koh Payah, and Kaikanan" are mentioned together but as two distinct countries, the people of the former being called "ahl-i Koh Payah" as well as "Kaikanan", and of the latter as "Kikanan".[36] Obviously both the countries were inhabited by the same or related ethnic sub-stocks of the Turks, and as such, there was close cooperation between them. Baladhuri has specifically referred to the Kaikanians as Turks.

Turan. This country which had retained the name of ancient TURAN, was contiguous with Makran,[37] and extended further north to Kaikan. It covered most of Southern Balochistan (later on known as Jhalawan) with the Khuzdar district as its centre and the town of Khuzdar as its capital.[38] It extended eastward to the Budha Province of Sindh (the present Kachchi district of Balochistan).

According to the tradition recorded in Mujmil al-Tawarikh, the city of Qandabil (present, Gandava) was founded in the long past to define the frontier between the Turks of Turan and the Sindhian stocks of the Budha country.

Kaikanan. It has been referred to as al-Qaiqan' in the histories of Khalifah b. Khayyat and Baladhuri, and as 'Kaikanan' in Fathnamah-i-Sind. In its very name Kaikan or Kaikanan, as also in the name of the other neighbouring principality of Bukan (see below), one may discern in the suffixes 'Kanan' or 'Kan' the same root-meaning and connotation as is implicit in such later nomenclature as Qa'an (Ka'an), Khaqan and Khan. This large country, which was geographically included in Sind, and also adjoined Khurasan, was known for the best breed of its horses.[39] It covered Upper Balochistan or Sarawan, with the Kalat district as its Centre. It constituted the Khanate of the 'Kai Turks' and hence called Kaikan or Kaikanan. Up to the 7th century A.D., its population was predominantly Turkish. It was here that in 44 A.H. (664 A.D.), the Muslim commander Muhallab b. Abi Sufra' had encountered a contingent of 18 Turk horsemen.[40] Again in 47 A.H. (667 A.D.) when commander Abdullah b. Sawwar al-Abdi had advanced into Kaikan the second time, he was overwhelmed and killed by the Turks there.[41]

Bukan. It is referred to by Khalifah b. Khayyat and Baladhuri as al-Buqan'[42] which is an arabicised form of 'Bukan', and both the historians mention al-Kaikan (Kaikan) and al-Buqan (Bukan) as two separate countries.[43] Buqan/Bukan would appear to be the 'Khanate of the Bu Turks', 'Bu' being a contraction of the original name (?). 'Bukan' was the northern most principality and covered the area of the present Quetta Division of the Balochistan Province.

The above historical-cum-geographical perspective indicates that during the 7th/8th centuries A.D., most of the areas of the present Balochistan (in Pakistan) and Afghanistan were inhabited and ruled by the different Turkish clans. The kings of Zabul, and those of Kabul referred to in the tradition recorded by Beruni, were also a part of the Turkish race that had dominated the vast regions to the south-east of Iran, including the frontier of the Subcontinent, such as Balochistan and the Gandhara regions.

The Tradition Recorded by Beruni

Beruni has recorded the following tradition that was still in the Peshawar region when he was collecting information there for his great work, *Tahqiq ma li al-Hind* etc. or INDICA, during the first quarter of the 5th century A.H./11th A.D. This tradition, in so far as its relevant historical content is concerned, is as under[44] (in Edward Sachau's English version which has been slightly modified as indicated in the italics):

"*And they had their kings residing in Kabul,*[i] Turks, who were said *to be originally from Tibet.*[ii] The first of them Barhatagin,, came into the country and entered a cave in Kabul.....Now people honoured him as a being of miraculous origin, who had been destined to be King, and he established his rule in those regions *being titled with the 'Shahship of Ka'bul*[iii]....Unfortunately *'the Indians'* (al-Hind)[iv] do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-

telling....One of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the Vihara (Budhistic monastery) of Purushavar.....The last king of this race was Lagturman, and his Vazir was Kallar, a Brahman. ... Now the Vazir put him in chains and imprisoned him for correction, but then he himself found ruling. sweet, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans, and so he occupied the royal throne....After him ruled the Brahman kings Samand (Samanta), Kamalu, Bhim (Bhima), Jaipal (Jayapala), Anandapala, Trojanapala (Trilocanapala)....The latter was killed in A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021), and his son Bhimapala five years later (A.D. 1026)....This line of *Indian Shahship*[v] is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. ..."

This tradition which, as clarified by Beruni, was based on the hearsay of the people, who were least careful about their history or its chronology, has been the subject matter of considerable speculation and farfetched conclusions. Its text as well as the historical context (of the early eras, prior to the 5th century A.H./11th century A.D.) to which it refers, clearly indicate that there was a long line of Turkish Kings (sixty generations) with their capital at Kabul who had also extended their dominions to the northern parts of 'Hind' (the Gandhara region). But in some of the modern historical writings, it has been averred as if they were the Hindu rulers of India who had extended their power beyond the Hindukush and established themselves as kings of Kabul.

This confusion would seem to have arisen initially due to Edward Sachau's English version of this passage which calls for some comment here.

i) The first sentence in the original Arabic text is "*wa qad kan lahum mulkun bi Kabul*" which, if literally translated, would be: "And they had for them kings in Kabul" or "And there were kings for them in Kabul", i.e. the kings who had ruled over them in the long past from Kabul. Sachau translated this sentence as "Hindus had kings residing in Kabul", though the word 'Hindus' does not occur in the original text. By 'they' Beruni did not mean the 'Hindus of India', or even 'the religious community of the 'Hindus' only in the far north, but 'the people' of the northern regions (of Peshawar, Ohind and Taxila which were a part of the Gandhara kingdom). This tradition belonged to the people of these regions over whom the Turk kings of Kabul had ruled in the Past. In those eras, they were predominantly 'Budhists' rather than 'Hindus'.

ii) In the second line, the original text "*Atrak qil fi asli him annahum kanu min al-Tibbat*" has been rendered by Sachau as "Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin" which though not incorrect in itself does create the confusion as if they were not real Turks but of Tibetan race and origin.

iii) Down below, the word 'al-Hind' (in the original text: wa lao la anna al-Hind) has been translated by Sachau as 'The Hindus', though Beruni has used it here, as elsewhere, in a generic sense (on the analogy of al-Arab, the Arabs, al-Furs, the Persians etc.) with racial-cum-geographic connotation as 'the Indian people'.

iv) In the middle and the later parts of this statement (in the italics supplied by us) occurs the word 'Shahiyat' or 'al-Shahiyat'. Literally Shahiyat would mean

'Shahship' (Kingship). Sachau's version of this part is: "and in fact he brought those countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of Shahiya of Kabul". But the title of these rulers was 'Shah', and not 'Shahiya'. No history mentions any king of Kabul by the title of 'Shahiya'; but because it occurs in Sachau's translation, it has been taken to be the 'dynastic name', not only of the rulers of Kabul but also of the later Brahman rulers of the Gandhara region.The royal title of the Turk rulers of Kabul was 'Kabulshah', i.e. 'Shah of Kabul': it is this connotation of their being 'Kabulshahs' (Shahs of Kabul) that Beruni's expression "Shahiyat Kabul" implies. In the earlier histories, based on contemporary reports, these Turk rulers of Kabul are referred to by the royal title of 'Kabulshah'. Elsewhere, Beruni himself mentions the Kabul rulers as 'Kabulshahs'.[45] It would seem that Barahatigin by calling himself 'Kabul-Shah' had set the fashion, and subsequently other rulers also took similar titles. Thus, the neighbouring Turk king of Zabul came to be called as 'Zabul-Shah' or 'Zabulan-Shah'.

v) In the later part of the statement, Sachau has conveyed the meaning of "al-Shahiyat al-Hindiyat" as "Hindu Shahiya dynasty", but Beruni meant 'the Indians'. As he was now referring to the rulers on the side of India, he designated the rule of their line as 'al-Shahiyat al-Hindiyat', that is the "Indic Shahship", as distinct from the "Kabul Shahship". Though Beruni has used the expression 'al-Shahiyat al-Hindiyat' (following his earlier expression 'Shahiyat Kabul') he does not mention it specifically that the first Brahman ruler Kallar who usurped the

throne of his Turkish master had also adopted the royal title 'Shah' for himself.

Evaluation

Presumptions such as under arise in the context of this tradition:

a) The Turk Shahs of Kabul, or Kabulshahs, had extended their dominion also on the side of India, and continued to rule both the Kabul and the Gandhara regions from their capital in Kabul, until the Brahman minister Kallar deposed the last Kabulshah, Lagturman.

b) As the Turk Shahs of Kabul also ruled their Indian subjects and administered their Indian territories, they had also their administrative capital there. This was either Peshawar or Ohind which also served as their winter capital.

c) The Brahman minister Kallar had deposed the last Turk Shah of Kabul, but it is not mentioned in the text where he had deposed him. As Beruni understood it, this took place in Kabul. He briefly remarks in his Canon Masudicus: "Fort Kabul was the residential capital of their kings, the Turks earlier and the Brahmans later."[46] This would mean that Kallar and some of his successors had also ruled from Kabul. Then they shifted their capital to Ohind.

d) It is not known exactly when and under what circumstances this change took place. As the story is based on hearsay it can hardly be complete in details. It is also difficult to determine how many rulers had

succeeded Kallar before Jaipal took over with his capital at Ohind/Waihind. As before, the Kallarid dynasty ruled both the Kabul and the Gandhara regions from Kabul with Peshawar/Ohind as their winter capital which was also the seat of their Viceroys. Possibly soon a Prince/Viceroy established himself independently in Peshawar/Ohind, or the Kabulshah on his own accord bestowed the Indian Dominion on him. Thus, a line of the descendants /collaterals of Kallar established their dynastic rule in the Gandhara region with Peshawar/Ohind as their capital. They continued to rule there though probably there was some intervening dynastic change (or changes?) and the Pala dynasty founded by Jaipal (or his father?) became the last in the line. The Kabulshah in Kabul accepted Islam under the influence of Muslim polity. These later events are recorded in the contemporary sources of the Islamic period.

'Rutbil' and 'Kabulshah', as specifically mentioned by Baladhuri,[47] were vanquished for the first time during the reign of Amir Mu'awiya (661-680 A.D.) where-after they became tributaries to the Caliphate by treaties. During the reign of Caliph Mahdi (775-785 A.D.), the Rutbil was Malik (king) of Zabulistan, the Khinkhil was Shah of Kabul and the Shihr was Malik (king) of Bamiyan.[48] 'Rutbil' and 'Shihr' were not their personal names but their ethnodynastic titles, and their dynastic lines had continued on from the 7th century A.D.[49] Thus, 'the First' (former) and 'the later' Rutbils figure in the events preceding and following the accession of Caliph Abdul Malik (685-705 A.D.).[50] *Khinkhil*[51] was likewise the ethnodynastic title of the then ruling Turk Kabulshah. Mahrab Bana Domi was the last Kabulshah (Shah of Kabul) who embraced Islam

before the Abbasid Caliph Mamun at Merve in 199 A.H./814 A.D.[52] As his name would suggest, Mahrab (Mahrat, Maharath) was probably a Brahman Kabulshah. The change from the Turk Kabulshahs to Brahman Kabulshahs presumably took place when the Khinkhil house (to which Lagturman belonged) was supplanted by the house of Mahrab, i.e. sometime between 705 A.D. and 814 A.D.

REFERENCES

1. The country might have been called 'Kabul' after the name of its river, but 'Kabulistan' would seem to carry an ethnic connotation.
2. Tarikh Khalifah b. Khayyat, Vol.I (ed. Akram Zia al-Umari, Baghdad, 1967 A.C.), p.192.
3. Cunnigham, p.19.
4. Thus according to R.C. Majumdar, the King of Kapisi was an Indian, Kashtriya by caste, and the language and literature of the people bore affinity to the Turks (*Arab Invasion*, pp.499).
5. Journal Asiatique 1895, p.349, quoted in *Arab Invasion*, p.6.
6. Beruni *K. ma li al-Hind* (pp.207-208) and *Kitab al-Jamahir* (Arabic text, p.25). Sachao in his English translation renders the name of the cave (originally 'Fara' or 'Phar') as *Var* and the name of the king as Lagaturman (*India* Vol.II, pp,10-13).
7. Modern research has shown that the Tukhari Chiefs and the Kanishka's line survived to rule only as far as the middle of the 4th century. Therefore, was it not that Brahatigin, the Tibetan Chief of the same stock of Yue-chi of Kushans founded the Turk-Shahi dynasty just after the fall of the Kanishka's line by the middle of the 4th century. In contrast with the Yue-Chi of Kushans who came from the North-West crossing the Oxus and establishing their power first in Tukharistan, the Tibetan Brahatigin and his stock of the Yue-chi approached directly from the North-East and probably had established their power along the course of the Oxus and in North-West of Kashmir. There they still held their sway when Beruni wrote in the early 11th century A.D.:

   "The north and part of the east of the country (Kashmir) belongs to the Turks of Khoton Tibet....The river Sindh rises in the mountains of Unang in the territory of the Turks, which you can reach in the following way" - leaving the ravine by which you enter Kashmir and entering the plateau, then you have for a march of two more days, on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamilan, Turkish tribes are called *Bhattavaryan* and their king has the title of Bhatta-Shah. Their towns are Gilgit, Aswira (اسوره) and Shiltas, and their language is Turkish. Kashmir suffers much from their inroads, (al-Hind, p.101/*India* I/206-207).

8. Ray, H.C., pp.60-61.
9. This information is preserved by Ibn Khallikan in his Wafayat al-A'yan (Arabic text, Beirut 1968, VI/403, and De Slane's Eng. tr. IV/302).
10. *Istakhari*, pp.244-45.
11. *Tarikh-e-Seistan*, footnotes pp.91-92 and *Mujmil al-Tawarikh* footnotes p.422. For (زنده پیل), Firdausi has been quoted (بتن زنده پیل و بجان جبرئیل).
12. Reverty: 'Notes on Afghanistan' p.63. The editor of Ibn al-Wardi (I/83) reads (زنیل) (Zanil, while in a passage quoted from Tarikh-i-Alfi by Elliot, it is given as 'Ranbal' (Elliot,Vol.II/40).But Elliot rightly remarked (11/417): "Nevertheless there is no certainty as to the proper mode of spelling the name. The various readings by the European editors show how little the orthography is settled. Ocklay calls him 'zentil; Weil had Ratbal, Rantal & Zantil; E. Thomes 'Ratpil'; Price 'Reteil, Ratheil' or 'Ratpiel'.
13. Vide the indices of these works.
14. Muruj, Paris Ed., V/302.
15. See Lisan and Taj.
16. The word has been used by an early Arab poet in Multan in his qasida cited in Muruj (Paris Ed., III.14-16) followed by al-Nuwairi (IX/311-312). It is used by the poet Muti'b.Iyas whose verses are cited by Jahiz in Kitab al-Hayawan (VII/50).
17. Cf. Jahiz (Kitab al-Hayawan, VII/50), and al-Jawaliqi, Mu'arrab etc. pp.77-80.
18. Muruj (Paris Ed.), III/16-17 & V/302.

19. وتراجع الطرداء إذ وثقوا- بالامن من رتبيل والشحر
'(al-Farazdaq: Diwan, edited by Sawi, Cario, p.325) in the Qasida praising Sulaiman b. Abd al-Malik. Also cf. Kitab Ma'ani al-Shi'r by al-Ushtadani, Damascus, 1340 A.H., p.73 and al-Jawaliqi, Al-Mu'arrab Min al-Kalam, Leipzig, 1867'.

20. Vide Taj under (الرتبل). For the traditions of Rutbil b. Salih, see al-"Dhahbi's Mushtabih al-Nisbah".

21. al-Baladhuri, Futuh al-Buldan, p.399.

22. Ray bases his view on the following three arguments: Firstly that Baladhuri refers to "the idol of Zur" (Bal.p.394), secondly he styles the people as 'polytheists', (Bal.pp396 & 98); thirdly, unlike Raverty, Ray considers the word '*Rutbil*' to be of Turkish origin and, therefore, the line of Rutbils may be identified with the descendents of the Shahis of Kabul whom he probably takes to be Hindus (Ray p.77) although elsewhere he makes a distinction between the ruler of Kia-pi-shi and the Turki Shahis who were later on supplanted by the Hindu Shahis (pp.71-78).Now in the first instance, the "idol of Zur" was not located in any of the territories of the Rutbils; it was in the region of Dawar which had never formed a part of the territories of Ghazna, the Kingdom of Rutbil, though it was contiguous with Seistan (cf. al-Bada wa Tarikh, IV/78). From earliest times, Dawar was under domination of Persia (*Tarikh Seistan*, pp.24-25 & I. Faqih p.208). Even when, Muslims came across the Idol of Zur in Dawar, it was being ruled by a Persian Mazuban. This fact is recorded in the same account of Baladhuri which is quoted by Ray. Besides, 'Zur' is not the name of any Hindu god, and neither it was an image of Budda which is always referred to by the Arab historians as 'Budd'.More plausibly, 'Zur' was an indigenous god of the Turki tribes who had from long back inhabited Dawar and Ghur (Istakhari, p.244; Hudud al-Alam, p.63, and Maqdisi,, p.305).These Turks of Dawar and of the mountainous regions of Ghur continued to worship their mythical gods as late as 176 A.H. when, during the reign of Harun al-Rashid, Fazl Barmaki led an expedition against Ghur and found an idol in the temple of Shah Buhar which these people used to worship (Buldan, pp.290-91). The epithet 'polytheists' (mushrik) had not been restricted to Hindus (as Ray had supposed); it was then applied to any people other than the People of the Book (Jews, Christians etc). Thirdly, the descendents of Kabulshahs (if at all the Rutbils were their descendents) cannot be regarded as Hindus because the Kabulshahs themselves were Budhists.

23. al-Qalqashandi IV/379, and al-Bakri, *Mu'jam*, I/435.

24. Tabari I/2592-93 and Al-Jawaliqi, p.73.

25. Tarikh, Seistan, p.9 (بزمين هندوان رفت).

26. Mujmil, p.422.Ibn-al-Wardi even vaguely styles them as Kings of Kashmir (Vol.I.p.83) simply because Kashmir lay beyond Zabulistan.

27. Tabari, I/2592-93.

28. Ibid, I/2704-5.

29. Baladhuri, p.394 & I. Athir, III/63.

30. Baladhuri, P396 & I. Athir III/221.

31. Ziyad b. Abih after his appointment as Governor of Basra and Iraq (in 45 A.H.) had confirmed Abd al-Rehman for a few months and then replaced him with Rabi'a b. Zaid al-Harithi (Bal.397). Governor Ziyad himself took charge of Seistan in 46 A.H., and a year later in 47 A.H. he was engaged in war with Rutbil (Tarikh-e-Seistan, p.91).

32. Baladhuri, p.397.

33. Tabari, I/2704-05.

34. Loc. cit.

35. Tarikh Khalifah b. Khayyat, Vol.I (*op.cit.*), p.173.

36. Fathnamah-i-Sind, being the Original Record of the Arab Conquest of Sind (erroneously called Chachnama), Persian text with commentary edited by N.A. Baloch, Islamabad 1403/1983, pp.55 & 58. (The original Arabic was translated into Persian in 613 A.H./ 1216 A.C.).

37. Ibn Khaldun (History, 1/49) has correctly observed as under:
(بلاد مكران يقابلها الطوران وهي من السند (التاريخ، طبع مصر)

38. When Istakhari and Ibn Hauqal had visited it during the forties of the 4th century A.H., the ruler used to reside in Kizkanan (present Kalat?) which is mentioned as 'Kijkanan' in *Hudud al-Alam* (Tehran 1352 A.H., p.174) authored by about 372 A.H., though later on Maqdisi (Ahsan al-Taqasim etc., De Goeje's ed. p.478) again mentions it as 'Kizkanan'.

39. Baladhuri; Futuh al-Buldan, De Goeje's edition, Brill, 1887, p.432.
40. Ibid, p.432.
41. Cf. Tarikh Khalifah b. Khayyat, Vol.I, p.193. Baladhuri: Futuh al-Buldan, p.433.
42. Baladhuri, Futuh al-Buldan, pp.434-435. In the printed edition of Tarikh Khalifah b. Khayyat (Vol.I, p.226) it is written as 'al-Muqan which is either a misprint or the scribes' error for 'al-Buqan'.
43. Tarikh Khalifah b. Khayyat *op.cit.*, Vol.I, pp.173, 198 and 226. Futuh al-Buldan, *op.cit.*, pp.432-435.
44. For the whole version, see Al-Beruni: Kitab ma li'l-Hind (i) Arabic 'text, Hyderabad Deccan, India, 1377 H/1958, pp.348-350; (ii) Alberuni's India, the English Version by Edward C. Sachau, London 1910, Vol.II, pp.10-13.
45. Alberuni's Indai, Sachau's Eng. Version, Vol.II, p.10.
46. Al-Qanunal-Mas'udi, Hyderabad Deccan, 1374 H./1955, Vol.II., p.574. (قلعه كابل مستقر ملو كهم الاتراک كانوا ثم البراهمه)
47. Baladhuri, Futuh al- Buldan , *op cit.*, p.397.
48. Cf. al-Ya'kubi Ibn al-Wadih: Tarikh, ed. M. Hautsma, Leiden, 1883/84.
49. Rutbil and Kabulshah figure in the annals of the early Umayyad Period. 'Rutbil' and 'Shihr' also find mention in a verse of poet Farazdaq (Diwan, ed. Sawi, Cairo, p.325).

وَ تراجَعَ الطُرداء إذ وَثقوا
بالامن من رُتبيل والشحر

50. Cf. Baladhuri, Futuh al-Buldan, *op.cit.* p.399.
51. The different manuscript variations of this name -e.g. Khinkhil, Khinkjil etc. – need further consideration.
52. Baladhuri, Futuh al-Buldan, *op.cit.*, p.402; and Azraqi, Akhbar Makkah, ed. Wustenfeld, Leipzig 1858. For a discussion of Azraqi's reference, see Ghafoor M.A.: *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II, 1965-66, pp.4-12.

IV

PERSIAN / ARAB RIVALRY ON SEA AND THE LAST BATTLES ON SINDIAN / INDIAN COASTLINE.

The Persian/Arab rivalry on the sea was centuries old. It extended beyond the Gulf to the Arabian Sea.

The successful Arab naval expedition sent against Debal (Daibul) on the Sindh Coastline and further south to Bharoach and Thana on the Indian coast in 15 A.H./637 A.D.) marked the turning point in this struggle. These victories, achieved during the Caliphates of Umar, ended the Sassanian hold on the Sindhian/Indian sea front.

The Sabaean Arab Supremacy on Sea

Long before the rise of the Sassanian power in Persia, the Arab sailor and trader from South Arabia had dominated that part of the ocean which became known as the *Arabian* Sea. The coastal Arabs of the South, unlike the beduins of interior, were born traders and sailors and they had seized the lucrative sea trade which flourished between Arabia, India and Egypt. "This was their prerogative, jealously guarded, and upon this they lived and prospered according to the prosperity of the Pharaohs. The muslin and spices of India they fetched themselves, or received from the Indian traders at their ports on either side of the Gulf of Aden, carrying them in turn over the high lands of the upper Nile, or through the Red sea and across the desert to Thabes or Memphis"[1], and as the time went on and the Arab retained his monopoly, he built up a magnificent

civilization, of which the first written record is supplied by Agatharchides of the Alexandrian library in the year 113 B.C. It was the grandeur of the Sabaean Arab Civilization about which Agatharchides says: "In fact there is no nation upon earth so wealthy as the Gerrhaeans and the Sabaeans, because of their situation in the centre of all the commerce which passes between Asia and Europe. These are the nations which have enriched the Syria of Ptolemy: these are the nations that furnish the most profitable agencies to the industry of the Phoenicians, and a variety of advantages which are incalculable. They possess themselves every profession of luxury, in articles of plate and sculpture, in furnishing of beds, tripods, and other household embellishments, far superior in degree, far superior to anything that is seen in Europe[2].

The Sabaeans had attained this grandeur through their monopoly of the commerce flowing through Indian Ocean to China, but they lost their supremacy when they encountered the enmity both of the Ptolemies and the Romans.

The Himyarites Supremacy

The Sabaean's tradition was carried on, though to a smaller extent, by their descendents the Himyarites. It was to the credit of these ancient Arab nations whose sailors and traders, had made the Indian Ocean safe and familiar for trade and prosperity. Their maritime activity connected East Asia with Europe. On the one hand they seem to have induced the coastal Indians, otherwise forbidden by their scriptures, to take to sea and on the other they attacked the Romans, then holding Egypt, to share the vast sea trade.

Periplus of the Erythraean Sea has preserved the salient features of this trade in the Indian Ocean which later on was also shared by the Romans. According to Periplus the cargo ships sailed from the western ports of Egypt towards the Red Sea and thence to India and Ceylon. Rounding from Red Sea, there came a series of ports on the Horn of Africa (then a Himyarite principality) and Avalites, the modern Zeile, which was the nearest of all to Arabia. These market towns exported Indian goods, and Periplus says "Ships are customarily fitted out from Ariaca (the Gulf of Cambay) and Barygaza (Bharoah) bringing to these farside market towns, the products of their own places wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth, and girdles and honey from the seed called *sacchari*". This sea trade was not confined only to the Horn of Africa; the Arab mariner had extended down to Aziana on the eastern coast of Africa. "The people of Muza send thither many large ships, using Arab captains and agents, who are familiar with the natives and, intermarry with them and who know the whole coast and understand the language".[3]

The ports of the Arabian Peninsula, on account of their advantageous positions on this highway of commerce, were the great emporiums of this rich trade. 'According to Periplus there were two great emporiums,- of Petra to the north and Muza to the south - the former at the junction of the carvan routes from Yemen and the Persian Gulf, the latter on the sea-route to Berenice, Rhapta, and Barygaza. Though the eastern shore of the Red Sea was comparatively bleak, the southern coast of Arabia had a number of flourishing ports, like Cana and Moscha, whence the incense from the incense-land, the Zafari mountains, the Zafari and Junuba districts, the Hadrmawt valley, and opposite Somali coast of Africa - was shipped "for temple-

service on the Nile or Euphrates, on Mount Zion, or in Persia, India or China".

In the Persian Gulf, there was Apologus on the Euphrates and Charax Spasini (Muhammarah) on the Shatta-al-'Arab. "To either place large vessels were regularly sent from Barygaza loaded with copper and sandalwood, and timbers of teakwood and logs of black wood and ebony". Ommana (Oman) on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, commanded a large shipbuilding industry, and from all the three towns of the Gulf these were exported to Barygaza and also to Arabia, purple and clothing and wine and many pearls, and a great quantity of dates, gold and slaves. From Ommana (Oman) the trade was extended along the coast of Gedrosia (Makran), and thence to the mouth of the Indus. Says Periplus: "Beyond the Ommanitic region there is a country also of the Parsidae, of another kingdom (Carmania?) and the bay of Gedrosia, from the middle of which a cape joints out into the bay. Here is a river affording an entrance for ships, with a little market town at the mouth, called Oraea....This country yields much wheat, wine, rice, and dates, but along the coast there is nothing but lidellium". Here Gedrosia is Makran and the river the Purali or the more ancient Arabius or Arabii. Arrain also mentions the town of Oraaea, lying at the mouth of the river Arabius, which forms the boundary between the Oritae and the Arabii. In the nomenclature of the 'Arabius' and 'Arabii' is an obvious ethnic Arab origin of the ancient Arab settlements on the coastline much beyond Ommana, 'while Charaz Spasini, named after Spasinus, king of the neighbouring Arabians' (Pliny), was the capital of the more nearer Arab State, with a small amount of independence.[4]

From the above account, the following points are thrown into relief. (1) The Arabs of South Arabia, as a result of their ancient maritime activity, opened up the great sea trade in the Indian ocean.(2) They frequented the ports of Egypt, Africa, Persian Gulf, Makran, Sind, Gujarat, right up to Ceylon and possibly even beyond up to China. (3) During this period the ports of Gedrosia, the port of Sind at the mouth of the Indus, and the port of Barygaze in Gujarat were the important centres of the Arab trade on the Indian coast. (4) Though the Arabs held the supremacy of this trade as pioneers, they gave a due share in this trade to the Indian merchant whom they induced to participate in the sea-trade. (5) The Romans had also begun to share this trade with the Arab traders who were fully supported by the Arab monarchs - by the Sabaeans and later on by the Himayarites. With the decline of the Sabaeans and the Himyarites, the maritime activity of the Arabs suffered a set back. The prophecy of Agatharchids that "their luxurious manners would soon render them a prey to the sovereigns in their vicinity" proved to be true. The Romans had already started their encroachments but, besides them there were 'the sovereigns in the vicinity' the Persians, who had begun to assert themselves with the rise of the Sassanians.

Rise of the Sassanians

Persian Empire already included within its jurisdiction a considerable coastal line beginning from the Gulf to the boundary of Makran and Sindh. The authority of Persia extended over the shores of Carmania and the opposite coasts of Arabia. The local Persian sailors were already there though they were not a power on the Ocean. The rise of the Sassanians gave an impetus to their activity and the Arabo-Persian rivalry on sea began with as much zeal as it

commenced on the land. For, the Sassanians came to dominate the sea trade not only as a maritime power but also as a strong territorial power.

The Arabs were the first to suffer from the Sassanian onslaught. Ardshir Papakan, the founder of the Sassanian monarchy, made his first inroads into the main outlets and emporiums of the Arab sea trade, Bahrain and the mouths of Tigris and Euphrates. He founded Batn Ardshir, or Bit Ardshir, commanding the coastline called Khatt, very opposite to the island of Bahrami which was the centre of Arab maritime activity. In the mouths of the great rivers he built, or rebuilt, Wahshat Ardshir or Wahistabad Ardshir, later on known as the port of Obulla[5]. Also he founded Insha Ardshir or Karkh Maisan, a sister town to Obulla, near Basra[6]. These strongholds in the midst of the Arab trade centres could not have been established without the Arab opposition. According to Hamza of Isphahan, an authority on the early Persian history, another town Batn Ardshir was founded by Ardshir in the neighbourhood of Bahrain and was so named because its walls were raised on alternate layers of bricks and Arab bodies[7]. The Sassanian monarch thus destroyed the very bases of the Arab sea-trade in S.E. Arabia and turned the Gulf literally into a 'Persian Gulf'.

Impelled by this grim struggle, the Arab tribes massed around Bahrain and Hajar and merged themselves under the common surname of *Tanukh*, for purpose of safety and security. As the Arab gained strength, they made continual raids into Babylonia, Khuzistan and other adjoining regions and thus carried the armed conflict into the very heart of the Sassanian Empire. The tribes of Bani Ayar and Abdul Qais, which dwelt on the Southern shores of the Gulf, took the lead in these incursions. At the same time, a

Masopotamian tribal chief, Tayer or Their attacked Ctesiphon, took the city by storm and captured the sister or aunt of the ruling monarch.[8]

Sooner than expected, these Arab tribes began to consolidate their hold on the coastline of the Gulf and succeeded in regaining their position on the sea. According to Tabari, a large force of them crossed the sea (the Gulf) from the side of the territories of Abd-al-Qais to Bahrain and Kazima till they besieged Raishahar, transacted the coastline of Ardshir Khurra and occupied the shores of Fars".[9]

Though these Arab victories were successive, they were not permanent. The Sassanian monarch Shapur II (309-379 A.D.) proved to be too strong for them. In his offensive in 326 A.D., he not only hurled the Arab tribal advance back to the coast but destroyed them in their own homes. According to Tabari, "Shapur crossed the sea with his men and disembarked at Khatt; then he traversed the territories of Bahrain slaying the local population. Thence he pushed forward his invasion and arrived at Hajar which was inhabited by the tribes of Tamim, Bakr b. Wail and Abd-al-Qais. He ordered their annihilations. Similar became the fate of al-Yamama, al-Madina and of the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. Such was the onslaught, observes Tabari, that even shoulders of captives were pierced and tied together with a rope,[10] whence the monarch was called, and ever after remembered, as 'Dhu-al-Aktaf' or 'Lord of the Shoulders'[11].

This annihilation of the South-Eastern Arabs (326 A.D.) struck a heavy blow to their maritime activity. As observed by the author of Persian Navigation:

> Shapur, Dhu-i-Aktaf, indeed, had not merely avenged himself on the Arabs of the Southern shore of the Gulf but had made Bahrain and the adjacent territory an integral part of the Sassanian Empire. The Arabs were expatriated and replaced by Persian colonists and the conquered lands placed under the administration of Marzubans or "Wardens of the Marches".[12]

This was a strong action against the sea faring Arabs from Bahrain and Oman. But, the Persian sailor was not yet advanced enough to replace the Arab sailor. Although the Arab sea power was much weakened, their sea trade continued on since the Sabaean and the Himyarite traders stood absorbed in their trade with India, Ceylon and China. The Chinese traveler Fa-Hian, who visited Ceylon in 414 A.D., says that 'the houses of the Sa-pob (Sabaeans) merchants are very beautifully adorned![13]

The Arab trade in the Indian Ocean declined after the Sassanian sea power had completely dominated the coastline of India. The Persians were already acquainted with the coastline of the Arabian Sea up to the mouth of the Indus which had also been navigated under the Archaemenians. For long they had dominated Sindh and gave the river Indus their own name, 'Mihran Rud', after which it became known as 'Mihran'[14].

That was in the long past. The revival of the Sassanian power and its extension eastward within historic times began with the reign of Shapur-II (A.D. 309-379). Besides invading the Arab lands, Shapur had extended his sway eastward and founded the town of Peshawar (*Pur-e-Shapur*) on the northern frontier of Hind and also other strongholds on the north western frontiers of Sind and Seistan[15]. Having established his supremacy on the Indus Valley, he demanded the rulers on that Front to accept his

overlordship and pay tribute to him, and "they took it upon themselves and submitted to his commandments, and sought his favour by means of gifts and money"[16]. During the reign of Bahramgur (420-440 A.D.), the Indus Valley with its important port of Debal as well as the Sindhian Makran were annexed to the Carman Satrapy of the Persian Empire[17]. Thus the entire coastline, extending from the Gulf southward up to the Sindhian kingdom, passed an under the direct control of the Sassanians. Their political domination of the Indus Valley gave them the advantage to extend their power further southward along the Indian coastline. Thus with the conquests of Bahram-II in 428 A.D., the Iranian Empire included Makran, Turan, and the middle of the Indus valley down to the mouth of the river, and even extended more southwards along the coasts of Cutch and Kathiawar[18].

The 5th century A.D. marked the decline of the Arab sea trade. For, the above events of the Sassanian advance had synchronized with the decline of the Himayarite kingdom which had been the backbone of the Arabs' sea trade. "The decline of the Himayarites which began soon after the commencement of the fifth century of the Christian era, reached its climax in 523 A.D."[19] during the reign of King Dhu Nawas who fell before the Ethiopeans, and the maritime provinces of Sindh and Sindhian Makran threw off the yoke of the Sassanian dominion, But his son, Khusraw Naushirwan (531-587) A.D., subdued these regions[20] and brought them under the political supremacy of Persia.

Khusraw Naushirwan also conquered Yemen from the Abyssinians (circa 570-579 A.D.) and it became a dependency of Persia. After the conquest of Yemen, Naushirwan had extended his sway along the coastline of

the Indian Ocean, far beyond the former limits, up to Ceylon. He has even been, credited for having conquered Ceylon.[21] With the control of the western coastline of India, Ceylon might have been coerced to give trade priorities to Persia over and above the Arab merchant or the Roman trader who was also actively competing with the Persians at least as far back as 512 A.D[22]. Under such an economic pressure, Ceylon possibly submitted to the imposing demands of the Sassanian monarch.

Ibn Miskawaih quotes a document which is supposed to have been written by Khusraw Naushirwan himself saying that he received the ambassador of Ceylon along with ambassadors from other countries[23].

Through political supremacy over the maritime countries, from the Gulf in the north to Sindh and Gujarat in the South, the Sassanians dominated the sea trade in the Indian Ocean. Their supremacy continued on for two hundred years until the reign of the last great Sassanian monarch Khusraw Perviz (579-628 A.D.). Only once during the reign of Qubad (487-531 A.D.), the central power of the Sassanians became weak due to the internal strives arising from the spread of Mazdeism. All along they monopolized the sea-trade for themselves. Their ports, from the Gulf to Sindh and Gujarat, became the converging destinations for ships from India and Ceylon, and all the rarities which hitherto had gone to the Sabaeans and the Egyptians were now unloaded on these ports for the grandeur of the royal Sassanian Court. The Indian kings would send elephants and sowrds while the Sindhian kings sent rareties from their own kingdom, particularly the peacocks and the parrots[24].

With the end of Khusraw Pervez's rule, the Persian power began to decline, both on land and on sea. It was defeated on land by the powerful Caliphate and was also eclipsed on sea by the Arab sailor under Islam.

Rise of the Arabs under Islam

The Chinese history of the Tang dynasty records that in the year 758 A.D., the Ta-shi (Arabs) together with the Po-se (Persians), sacked and burnt the city of Canton[25], "The year 758 A.D.", observes the author of Persian Navigation, therefore, is of particular importance both in the history of Persian and Arabian Navigation. "It was in 758 A.D., that the Persians in China were still in sufficient numbers....and also the first record is obtained of the Arab sea trade with the Far East"[26].

The progress made by the Arabs under Islam was phenomenal. They had already begun to assert themselves both on land and sea. The nerve centres of their power near the Persian frontiers were the age-long Arab colonies in Bahrain, Oman and the more northern coastal regions extending towards Sawad. Bahrain and Oman had been the arsenals of the Arab sea power while the pastoral regions S.W. of Sawad were their strongholds on land. The ethnic stock of Abdul Qais inhabiting Bahrain and the Azdites in Oman were the traditional seafarers from whom came expert sailors and soldiers; and the stock of the 'Iyad' tribes inhibiting the pastoral regions produced warriors who were trying their strength with the Sassanian army in Sawad by their swift marauding raids. The Sassanian Emperors had, therefore, aimed at crushing these untractible tribal stocks in their own homes, and their anachorages were incessantly attacked and destroyed by the royal armies. Yet, despite Emperor Shapur's scathing invasions, the Iyadites

continued to flourish in their beduin glory, "with horses and cattle strolling around their tents"[27]. With the decline of the Sassanian power, the Iyadites renewed their raids into the rich Persian pastoral province of Sawad. The contemporary poet al-Akhans b. Shahab al-Taghlabi who has alluded in his qasida to the pursuits of the different tribes, says about the Iyad[28].

> And the Iyad penetrated Sawad, while beyond it,
> Are the Persian armies seeking whom they should strike?

It was the stock of these and other Arab tribes who, under the leadership of Mukanna, had continued on their attacks against Sawad, and it was their struggle that led to the battle of Qadisyah and the eventual overthrow of the Sassanian Empire.

Renewal of the Arab-Sassanian Struggle on Sea

With the rise of the Sassanian power, there was every possibility of the Arab sea power being entirely liquidated. But, incidentally a third factor intervened at this stage which saved the Arab sea men from complete extinction. This was the maritime activity of the Roman sailor and trader in the Indian Ocean and the consequent Perso-Roman rivalry on sea. By 512 A.D., Persian vessels were found in active competition with the Romans in parts of Ceylon[29]. With the conquest of Yemen by the Christian Abyssinia in 523 A.D., the Perso-Roman rivalry was further stimulated both on land and on sea. "When Hellesthaios was reigning over the Ethiopians" says Procopius the historian of Justinian, "and Esimiphaeus over the Homeritae, Emperor Justinian (527-565 A.D.) sent an ambassador, Julianus, demanding that both nations, on account of their community of religion, should make common cause with the Romans in the war against the

Persians; for he proposed that the Ethiopians, by purchasing silk from India and selling it among the Romans, might themselves gain much money, while causing the Romans to profit only in one way, namely, that they be no longer compelled to pay over their money to their enemy... As for the Homeritae, it was desired that they should establish Catsus, the fugitive, as Captain over the Maddeni, and with a great army of their own people and of the Maddene Saracens, make an invasion into the land of the Persians...."[30]. The silk trade, over which this cut throat competition was going on, flourished along the Western coast of India. "The most notable place of trade in India" says Cosmas, writing between 545-50 A.D., "are these, Sindu, Orhotha, Calliana, Sibor and the five marts of M'ale which export pepper....(and) at a distance of about five days and nights from the Continent...Sielediba that is Taprobane" and far beyond that being the silk producing country of Tzinista (China)[31].

Thus, the Perso-Roman rivarly on sea became as fierce as it was on land. In the above passage from Procopius, one finds the Romans courting the alliance of Ethiopia and the Homeritae (Himyarite), their Maddene Saracens compatriots, to take part in invading the Persians and also assist in wresting sea-trade from them. Himyarite sailor and trader, after the decline of their power, threw their lot with the Romans as compared to their traditional foes, the Persians. The Persians also had no consideration for the coastal Arabs whom they had ruthlessly suppressed, though on land they had maintained the puppet Arab kingdom of Hira under their patronage. They could, however, count upon those on the Western Indian coast whose economic interests were closely linked with them. It also became difficult for the Ethiopians, the allies of the Romans, to buy silk from the Indians, because the Persian merchants

"always locate themselves at the very harbour where the Indian ships first put in, and are accustomed to buy the whole cargoes"[32]. This close economic alliance between the Persian and the Indians brought the later into the Persian camp and they gradually turned hostile to the Arabs.

The Arab-Indian Struggle on Sea

The Sassanians by crushing the Arab sea trade in the Indian Ocean brought into prominence the Indian sailor and trader. With the decline of the Sassanians, the Indian sailors remained in privileged position and began to assert themselves on the sea. Fortunately for them, the Chalukyas of Badarui established their power along the Western coast and their ruler Pulakeshen-II (609-642 A.D.) was able to bring within his kingdom the maritime districts of Thana and Surat in the north as well as the coastline southward[33]. Before this, the coastal trade was monopolized by the Persians, but now Pulakeshen-II wanted to have his share. So the Sassanians gave them trade priorities over the Romans and the Arabs. For such considerations, Pulakeshen-II dispatched his ambassadors to Khusraw Perviz in 625-26 A.D. Historian Tabari has recorded that in the 36th year of his reign, Emperor Khusraw Perviz received an embassy from the Indian King Farmisha (Pulikesa, i.e. Pulakeshen-II) who had sent him presents and written to him about "various matters":

> "We find Farmisha, King of India, writing to us in the 36th year of our reign and he had sent an embassy to us and wrote about various matters and sent presents to us and all"[34].

Khusraw Perviz considered it worth while to secure cooperation of the Indian king, and he also dispatched his own embassies who were received by Pulakeshen, an event which is depicted in a pictorial record surviving in a

mutilated form in cave (I) at Ajanta[35]. These overtures and embassies raised the importance of the Indian seamen to a position only next to the Persian sailor, and when Khusrau Perviz died, the Indian seamen stepped into the shoes of the Persians. In alliance with them, the Indian seamen inherited hostility towards the Arab sailors and merchants.

Thus, the Indian ships had begun frequenting the Persian Gulf in the later Sassanid period and also they had started attacking the Arabs of Bahrain and Oman. The people of Lukaiz, a considerable tribal stock of the Abd ul-Qais, inhabiting Bahrain and Oman[36], had suffered their onslaught. But the sea men of the 'Lukaiz stock faced the Indian attacks and held firmly the eastern coastlines of Bahrain and Oman. The contemporary poet al-Akhans b. Shihab Taghlibi said[37].

> The Lukaiz hold the two seas (the Gulf and the Arabian Sea)
> Even though calamity afflicts them from the Indians.

It would seem that the sea pirates of the Indian coastline were let lose due to the weakness of the Sassanian sea power which hitherto was an effective check on them. The declining but lucrative sea trade of the Persians, and partly of the Romans and the Arabs, was still carried on along the western coastline of India and these powerful Pirates would capture boats, plunder their cargoes, enslave their crew and return with booty to their hide outs. The coastlines of Sindh, Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat were controlled by them, and the erstwhile famous trade emporiums of Debal, Bhroach and Thana became strongholds of their activities.

With the weakening of the Sassanian power on sea the Indians had extended their activity northwards, and established their power center on the island of Khark, opposite to the Persian coast. From there they extended

their influence northward to the vertex of the Gulf and also consolidated their hold on the south-eastern coast of Oman and Bahrain. Thus dominating, they conducted their attacks on the port of Obulla in the mouths of Euphrates and Tigris, which had been a cosmopolitan centre of sea trade for centuries. It may be sumarised that such a distant attack on Obulla, had been backed by some of the coastal rulers such as Brahman Chuch of Sindh, the Valabhis of Kathiawar, or the Chalukyas of Gujarat. The Indians not only held Obulla temporarily, but also extended their sway to the adjoining region, as far as Basra. Because of the Indian presence, this region came to be called "Indian Land"[39]. The Persians could not tolerate this encroachment but due to the anarchy prevailing during the reign of their last monarch Yazdgird, their resistance was ineffective. But, they had continued to resist the Indians on the sea-front of Obulla which had also become known as the "Indian Front"[39].

As the forces from Sindh had played a leading role, this war front was also called the "Front of the Sindhians and the Indians'[40]. It was just before or during the succession of Yazdigird that the Sassanians brought their best and the strongest garrisons of Al-Asavirah, the Cavaliars, into action against the Indians and pushed them back from land to sea and re-occupied the port of Obulla[41].

Yet the Indian attacks from the sea had continued and, as late as the year 12 A.H, Hormoz, the Persian Marzuban of the Asavira garrison, holding this region, had to fight on land against the Arabs and on sea Indians. "The Indian Front" observes Tabari "was then the most difficult of all the Fronts for Persia, Persia, in its importance and magnitude. Their commander used to fight against the Arabs on land and against the Indians on sea"[42]. But with the rise of the Arabs under Islam, the Persian power had

declined. So when the Muslims conquered the Basra region they had to defend the Obulla Front against the Sindians/ Indians.

Rise of the Muslim Naval Power

The rise of Islam revolutionized the Arab society. The universal ideals of the new faith, like the belief in One Creator and unity, fraternity and equality of all, united the Arab tribes into a strong force. The head of the new Madina State, the Prophet (peace be upon him), enunciated a new policy and kept open the doors of conciliation. He invited the neighbouring rulers to the universal dispensation of Islam. Badan, the Persian Governor in Yemen, accepted Islam and the whole of Yemen followed him[43] Al-Mundhir b. Sawi, the Persian Governor in Bahrain, and the Persian Marzuban Sibukht of Hajar were also invited to Islam through ambassador 'Ala' b. al-Hadrami who was sent to Behrain in 8 A.H. Both of them accepted Islam[44]. Thus, the two main maritime provinces which were under the domination of the Sassanian Emperors were brought under Islamic polity. From now onwards, maritime activity of the Arabs renewed with vigour, and the Muslim sailor and trader succeeded, as never before, to traverse the high seas.

However, as the hold of the new Madina Caliphate on these Maritime Provinces had not yet been consolidated, Yamen, Bahrain, and Oman plunged into apostolic revolt during the Caliphate of Abu Bakr. Determined to crush these revolts, he dispatched Khalid to Yemen who subjugated the apostates there. But struggle in Bahrain and Oman became hard due to the rebels receiving support from the Sassanians from across the Gulf. In Bahrain they had set up their own authority against the Caliph and appointed the Persian puppet, the Hirite Prince, as their

ruler.[45] A body of the Arab tribes around Qatif and Hajar also rose in revolt and beguiled the warlike Sindian tribes of Zut and Sayabija inhabiting the Khatt to join them.[46] Caliph Abu Bakr dispatched 'Ala-Al-Hadrami who succeeded in crushing the rebellion there, 'Ala also gave demonstration of superior courage by plunging his Armada into the Gulf and attacked Darain[47], an invincible defence of the rebels situated inside a channel at a distance of 24 hours voyage for a sea-going vessel[48]. Commander Hudhaifa subdued Oman, and the coastal Arabs as well as all the coastal islands submitted.[49]

Thus by the end of the year 11/12 A.H, the apostolic revolts were crushed and all the maritime provinces of Arabia were brought under the fold of Islam. Sindhian stocks of Zut and Sayabija, inhabiting Khatt, who were a sea-faring people, were employed as navel guards.[50] The coastal Arabs of Oman and of the Islands, who were traditional sailors, also came within the fold of Islam and they soon became a formidable navel force in the Gulf and on the Arabian Sea.

The Caliph now turned his attention to the sea fronts, the 'Indian Front' of the Basra region as well as to the coastlines of the Gulf and the Indian ocean. Pursuit of the Sassanian power, both on land and on sea, was the main objective. The powerful Sassanian Emperor Khusraw Naushirwan had hitherto extended his authority beyond the Gulf to the Arabian sea and the Indian ocean as far as Ceylon[51]. This move was arrested in the year 15 A.H/637 A.D. under Caliph Umar. According to Baladhuri:

> "Umar b. al-Khattab appointed 'Uthman b. Abi al-'As al-Thaqafi in Bahrain and Oman in the year 15. The latter sent his brother Haknm to Bahrain, and went himself to Oman, and sent an army across to Tanah, when the army returned,

> he wrote to 'Umar' informing him of this expedition. 'Umar wrote to him in reply, "0 brother from the Thaqif, thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allah I swear that if they had been smitten, I would have exacted from your tribe the equivalent.' He ('Uthman) also sent Hakam to Barus and his brother Mughira b. Abi al-' As to the Gulf of Daibul, where he met the enemy and won a victory."[52]

As Uthman had remained Governor of Ta'if for the first two years of the caliphate of Umar, his transfer to Bahrain and Oman took place by about Jumada-II, 15 A.H. Therefore these expeditions are most likely to have been dispatched by Uthman after Jumada-II in the year 15 A.H., i.e. after August 636 A.D., during the winter months of that year, a safe period for naval undertakings.

Confirmation of Bahadhuri's statement is to be found in other sources. Speaking of the achievements of Uthman b. Abi al- As, Ibn Hazm states that he attacked "three towns of Hind",[53] that is Tanah, Barus and Daibul (as in Baladhuri's statement). According to Yaqut, Uthman sent his brother Hakam (sic) to the Gulf of Daibul which was conquered by him.[54] Yaqut also follows Baladhuri, but it would seem that due to a gap in his text, Hakam (instead of Mughira) has been mentioned as commander of the expedition to Daibul. Fathnamah-i-Sind, (an earlier Arabic work which was translated into Persian in the year 613 A.H./1216 A.D.) has carried the account as under:

> Those well versed in these chronicles have reported that the first attack of the army of Islam against Sind and Hind was mounted during the caliphate of Umar in the 15th Year of the Hijra. The Caliph first sent Uthman b. Abi al-'As al-Thaqafi to Bahrain, and he set out with his forces to Oman and assembled boats with soldiers and held them in readiness by the sea route. He then assigned the command of that fleet

to Mughira b. 'Abi al-'As and despatched him to Bahrain to proceed from there to Daibul.[55]

In so far as this account corroborates Baladhuri in referring to Mughira as commander of the Daibul expedition, the original authority for this much information was probably Mada'ini. But then another report of a doubtful nature was later appended to this account wherein it was claimed that Mughira was killed in the battle of Daibul.[56] This was not the case, because Mughira was alive for long thereafter. The dispatch of naval expeditions from Bahrain and Oman to the three distant ports of the Sindhian/Indian coastline was indeed a great event of the time and hence it found mention in more than one early sources. The port of Daibul was situated about 39 miles south east of Karachi at the site of Banbhore where archaeological excavations have brought to light the ruins of Daibul. Barus (as indicated by its Arabicised pronunciation) was the port of Bharoach (1-i, 25 N & 70E) on the coastline of Gujarat. Tanah, that is Thana, was situated near the present city of Thana which lies 21 miles from Bombay[57]. Of the three places, Thana was the more distant one, and when Uthman reported the victory achieved there to Caliph Umar he called it an extremely risky adventure.

What were the circumstances which had impelled Uthman to mount these expeditions very promptly? Though the early sources are silent, the action taken is to be seen in the context of the 'great war' that was then raging between the Muslim community of Arabia and the Sassanian Persia.

The war front with the Sassanians was all ablaze. The Sassanian fleet in the Gulf had already been subdued but the remnants of the fleet outside the Gulf were anchored

safely in the far away ports of Debal (Daibul), Bharoach and Thana. Uthman sent three expeditions to destroy these pockets of the Sassanian sea power. This would seem to be the reason since no fight with the local Sindhian / Indian forces at any of the three ports is recorded. These victories subsequently encouraged Uthman to intensify naval attacks against the coastal belt of Iran. In 19 A.H. he sent a fleet from Oman under the command of his brother Hakam who conquered the Island of Bar Kawan and its capital and proceeded further against Tawwaj, in the district of Ardshir Khurrah. According to the report of Ibn Mikhnaf, Uthman himself had led the fleet across the sea; but that was probably later in the year 20 A.H. when Caliph Umar approved the naval strategy and specifically asked Uthman to cross the ocean himself to the Iran side. Accordingly, he appointed his brother Mughira as his deputy to stay behind and he crossed the sea with his fleet and engaged the Sassanian forces at Raishahar under the command of Murzuban Sahruk (Shah Rukh) who was defeated and killed.[58]

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1. Schoff: Notes to his edition of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (p.3) quoted in Persian Navigation, p.46.
2. Hadi Hasan, Persian Navigation, London, 1928, p.47.
3. Loz. cit.
4. Ibid, pp.49-51, 76, 85.
5. Ibid, p.62. It appears that Ardshir rebuilt this town; for, according to Tabari, it was originally founded by the Kayanid Monarch Kai Bahman and called 'Bahman Ardshir' (cf. Tabari, Universal History, I/687).
6. Hamza, Annals (Sini Muluk al-Ard wa al-Anbiya'), Leipzig ed., p.47, and Kaviyani Press, p.33.
7. Ibid, p.34.

8. S.M. Yusuf: "The Battle of al-Qadisiya", Islamic Culture, Vol.XIX, No.I, January 1945, pp.1-28.

9. D 'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, tom. V, p.143, followed by Rawlinson, p.146; Gibbon, Ch. XVIII, (Vol.II, p.367).

10. Tabari, Universal History, I/836.
فسار جمع عظيم منهم في البحرين ناحيه بلاد عبدالقيس والبحرين وكاظمه، حتى اناخوا براشهر و سواحل ارد شير خرّه و اسياف فارس/الطبري 836x1.

11. Ibid, I/838-39.

12. Hamza, Annals, op.cit., p.52. In Persian '*huya sanba*' (هويا سنبا), *huya* 'shoulders' and *sunba* 'perforated'.

13. Persian Navigation, p.76.

14. Ibid, p.65, after Beal, 'Buddhist Records', Introduction, XXIV, Vol. I, London.

15. Cf. Farsnama, pp.12-13 and Tabari, I/845, followed by Ibn Miskawaih, IX/141.

16. Tha'alabi, *Ghurar*, p.529.

17. Farsnama, p.82, Tabari, I/868 & Ibn Miskawaih, I/157.

18. "Iran Under the Sassanians"?, Persian Translation, p.85.

19. Persian Navigation, p.71.

20. Tabari I/894; Farsnama, p.94; Tha'alibi, p.610; and Ibn Khaldun II/176; also cf. Rawlinson according to whom "the ceded provinces seem to have belonged to Persia previously" (Seventh Monarchy, p.426).

21. Tabari, I/965.

22. Tabari, I/965; Hamza, Leipzig ed., p.40; Tha'alibi, p.615; and Ibn Miskawaih, I/183.

23. Persian Navigation, p.65.

24. Ibn Miskawaih, I/200.

25. Cf. al-Jahiz, *Mahasin*, p.280.

26. Persian Navigation, p.102.

27. Ibid, fn. 2, p.104. The view of Hirth and Rockhill are quoted to the effect that "the Arabs appear to have had a settlement or colony in Canton as early as A.D. 300" (Chau Ju-Kau,p.4). After the

revolution of 878 which paralyzed the Arab trade, the Po-se (Zorastrians) were gone, and the Ta-Shi (Arab) were all and all" (Persian Navigation, p.106).

28. Cf. the poet's verse:
على رغم سابور بن سابور اصبحت
تباب اياد حولها الخيل والنِعمَ
(Quoted by S.M. Yusf in his Paper "Qadsiyah", published in Islamic Culture (Hyderabad Deccan), Vol.XIX,No.1 January, 1945).

29. Hamasa, Bulaq ed., II/123-24; Mufaddaliyat, Text pp.410-421; Yaqut, Buldan (قضه); and al-Bakri, p.56. For these references, the author is indebted to the late Prof. Abdul Aziz al-Maimani of Aligarh University (who had already cited them in his *Simt*, p.868). The line quoted reads:
و غارت اياد في السواد و دونها
برازيق عجم تبتغي من تضارب
The poet is mentioned to have flourished long before Islam (Mufaddaliyat, p.410), up till the last phases of the War of Basus (Yaqut). The reference in his verse pertains more relevantly to the period following the decline of the Sassanian power and preceding the dawn of Islam.

30. Persian Navigation (p.65) after Cosmas Indicoplenstus in the Christian Topography, Bk. XI, p.368, McCrindle, London, 1917.

31. Procopius quoted in Persian Navigation, p.69.

32. Cosmas quoted in Persian Navigation, pp.69-70.

33. Procopius quoted in Persian Navigation, p.69.

34. Vaidya, I/140.

35. Tabari, I/1052.
وجدنا فرميشا ملك الهند كتب الينا في سنه 36 من ملكنا وقد اوفدهم الينا، فكتب في امورشتى واهدي لنا ولكم معشراً باننا هدايا

36. Persian Navigation, p.88; Vaidya I/270. Farmisha has been identified by Noldeke with Pulikesa on philological reasons (Ibid, p.88).

37. Bakri, *Mu'jam*, p.53. Lukaiz was a considerable clan which branched off into numerous tribes, often known after their ancestor

as 'Abdul-Qais'. From early times, they inhabited the maritime provinces of Bahrain and Oman.
The people of Lukaiz in Bahrain had been the adventurous sailors among the Arabs. In Oman, they had joined with the Azd tribe who were traditionally a sea-faring people.

لكيزَ لها البحران والسيف كله
و إن يغشها باس من الهند كارب

Cf. Mufaddaliyat, p.414; Bakri, Mu'jam, p.56; Hamasa (with al-Tabrizi's Commentary, Bulaq, 1296 A.H.), II/123-26; Yaqut, *Buldan* (قضه).

38. والبصره يومئذ تدعى ارض الهند ("Tabari I/2378; Tanbih P.357; Muruj IV/225; I. Faqqih, p.188. Also cf. Tabari I/2382 & I. Athir II/239).

39. I. Khaldun (بقيه الثاني), p.78. Also cf. Tabari, I/2223, 2380 (فرج الهند وهي الابله).

40. Tabari, I/2021.

41. I. Khaldun (بقيه الثاني), pp.78-79.

42. Tabari, I./2223.
وكان فرج الهند اعظم فروج فارس شان واشدها شوكه
وكان صاحبه يحارب العرب في البر والهند في البحر

43. I. Khaldun, (بقيه الثاني), p.59.

44. Baladhuri, p.78.

45. 'Futuhat Asam Kufi', pp.10-11. Also Tabari, I/1961.

46. Tabari, I/1961; Aghani, XIV/44-45.

47. Tabari, I/1972-73.

48. Ibid, I/1981.

49. Ibid, Tabari, I/1973.

50. Persian Navigation, pp.76-77.

51. Ibid, pp.66-67, quoting Hamza, Tabari and Tha'alibi.

52. Baladhuri, Futuh al-Buldan, pp.431-32.

53. Jamharat Ansab al-Arab, Cairo 1948.

54. Mu'jam al-Buldan, ed. Wustenfeld, Leipzig, 1860-66, Vol.II, p.289 under (خوره).

55. Fathnamah-i-Sind, Persian text, ed., N.A. Baloch Islamabad, 1403/1983, p.52.

56. Loz. cit.

57. The present town of Thana (19-11, 30 N & 73 S.E.), which is also headquarter of the Thana district is situated on the western shore of the Salsette creek. Of the old Thana there remains now no trace. Its "temples and Mosques, praised by early travelers, were pulled down by the Portuguese (1530-1560) and their stones used for churches". (Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, 1880, Vol.6, p.349).

58. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, op.cit., quoted by Yaqut in *Mu'jam al-Buldan* (op.cit., Vol.I, pp.890-91, Vol.II, pp.837-838).

V

FROM SASSANIAN / ARAB CONFLICT TO SINDHIAN / INDIAN FRONTS.

The Sassanian/Arab conflict was centuries old. It was not limited to territorial battles but also extended to naval engagements in the Gulf and the Arabian Sea.

The successful Arab naval expeditions sent against Debal (Daibul) on the Sindh coast and further south to Bharoach and Thana on the western coast of India in 15 A.H. (636 A.D.) and the territorial victory in Battle of River in Makran by about 23 A.H. (644 A.D.), marked a turning point in this struggle. These two victories, achieved during the Caliphate of Umar, ended the Sassanian hold on the Sindhian/Indian Fronts, both on Sea as well as on land. Also, for the first time, these battles had pitched the Arab and the force from Sindh wise face to face; the ultimate victory belonged to the Arabs, who were strongly organized under Islam.

On the eastern front the struggle of the Arab armies under Islam lay primarily against the Sassanian Empire which was bent upon destroying them in their own homes. Caliph Umar at last sanctioned a General Invasion (*al-Insiyah*) of the Sassanian Empire in 23 A.H. As a result the Muslim forces sent against the Persian Mukran under the command of al-Hakam succeeded in gaining a permanent footing there and established their military bases in the region of Banpur. Another column which simultaneously advanced against Sijistan under the command of 'Asim b.

Amr',[1] supported by Abdullah b. Umair, gained their initial victory in Farang the capital of Sijistan, but finding their position insecure they concluded a treaty[2] and retreated. Thereafter, when the struggle against the Sassanians had begun to turn in their favour with the conclusion of the General Invasion, the Muslim forces were unexpectedly involved into a conflict with the powers on the Sindhian/Indian front. This happened at the critical moment when Caliphate's armies were still engaged in their struggle against the Sassanians.

The waning empire of the Sassanians had provided a strong temptation to the neighbouring rulers of the North West Frontiers of India to occupying the adjacent regions. For long they had remained under political subjugation of the Sassanians and had tried to assert their independence as early as in the region of Qubad,[3] but with the rise of Khusraw Naushervwn they had to submit to the imperial crown. Subsequently, on the death of his successor Khusraw Perviz in 628 A.D., these frontier regions saw an opportunity to regain their independence. Chuch the ambitious Brahman ruler of Sindh took advantage of the anarchy prevailing in the Sassanian House on the death of Khusraw Perviz and extended his sway over Persian regions as far as Fannazbur (Punjpur/Panjgur) which he now fortified as an advance base for his army.[4]

On the other hand, the Shah of Zabulistan (Ghazna) from Qandhar and the Turk rulers from Kabul and Ghur had started their onslaughts on the Sassanian provinces of Sijistan, Bust, Rukhaj and Dawar. When the Muslims first arrived in 23 A.H., they found Sijistan already fighting against Qandhar and the Turks and other neighboring chiefs.[5]

Rasal had advanced with a strong army up to the River (Mashkal?) to fortify it as the western boundary of the Sindhian kingdom so that the Persian Satrap of Makran would remain confined to the west of the River. But the situation had changed, because the Caliphate's commanders had defeated the Sassanian forces and advanced towards the River.[6] Rasal had crossed the River but he was completely routed.

The Muslim commanders who had fought under heavy odds and borne the brunt of the battle were anxious to punish Rasal for his aggression. Commander Amr dispatched a special envoy to carry the news of this victory to Caliph Umar. The report of this unexpected encounter with large army in Sindhian Makran made the Caliph inquisitive about Makran but, according to Tabari, the report about the terrain and the people was so very unfavouranble that the Caliph declared that he would never send his troops against it: "By Allah my army shall never wage war against it (Sindian Makran) so far as I am obeyed".[7]

Sometime after this victory in the "Battle of the River", Hakam b. Amr, the Supreme Commander of the Muslim army in Makran, assisted by Suhail.renewed their request to the Caliph to permit them to cross the River and pursue the forces of Rasel but the Caliph emphatically rejected the proposal: "None from both of your armies shall cross to Makran: confine yourselves to *this side of the River*".[8] The assertive tone of the Caliph's refusal indicates that the request was made earnestly. But due to the Caliph's strict orders they had to forego their plan, though they were confident to conquer the territories of the Sindh ruler, including the Mehran (Indus) Valley.[9]

By the turn of the same year Caliph Umar died and was succeeded by Caliph Uthman. The Muslim army had remained pitched in the Banpur region of Persian Makran and they applied to the new Caliph for sanction to advance against Rasal. In the meanwhile, Rasal who had survived in the Battle of River, had seen that the Muslim commanders had retreated beyond the River. This emboldened him to advance and attack. Caliph Umar's death encouraged him to avail of the favourable situation. Because of his attack, Commandar Ubaidullah b. Mu'ammar al-Tamimi was rushed to the River (indicating that Rasal had crossed the River). Ubaidullah defeated Rasal and established his control up to the River. As Ubaidullah's services were urgently needed in Persia, he was forth with transferred, but the hostile Makran Front was no more to be ignored. Therefore, Caliph Uthman turned his attention to this Front and ordered the dispatch of a Military Mission to survey and report to him about the possibilities of advancing into Makran.

Despatch of a Military Mission to Sindian Makran

With the appointment of Abdullah b. Amir as Governor of Basrah in 29 A.H., subjugation of this south-eastern province of the Sassanian Empire was effectively resumed. The provinces of Fars and Kirman had already been controlled. It was in the year 30 A.H. that Abdullah himself reached Kirman from where he dispatched his energetic commander Rabi' b. Ziyad against Sijistan while he himself marched against Khurasan, the vast backyard of the Sassanian an Empire.

It was probably at this juncture that, under the Caliph's orders, he dispatched a military mission to report upon the physical conditions of Makran. According to Baladhuri and

Fathnama[10], Caliph Uthman ordered Abdullah b. Amir, the Governor of Iraq, to dispatch to the *Indian Front*[11] an intelligent man fully acquainted with the affairs of Sind and Hind who should submit a detailed report to him.

Abdullah b. Amr selected Hukaim b. Jabalah,[12] a prominent chief of a section of the Abdal Qais tribe.[13] He was a brave man known for his valour[14] which earned him the well deserved remark of Abu Ubaidah that he had the stoutest heart among the bravest men of the Jahiliayah as well as of Islam.[15] Hukaim had already played a conspicuous part in the hard battles against Persia, particularly during General Invasion in the days of Caliph Umar. Tabari refers to his rash exploits in Persia by unusual tactics.[16] Also on the Makran Front, Hukaim by his adventurous raids had acquired a through understanding of the Makran frontiers which qualified him to head the military mission to the Makran Front.

The dispatch of this mission headed by Hukaim b. Jabalah took place between 29-32 A.H., that is within the first three years of Abdullah b. Amir's Governorship of Basrah. The sequence of events on the Eastern Front further indicates that the mission was most probably dispatched by the turn of 30 A.H.[17]

Hukaim made a thorough investigation of the physical and socio-political conditions of (Eastern) Makran during 31 A.H. and returned the same year to report to the Caliph. According to Fathnama, after completing his survey Hukaim returned to Abdullah b. Amir and submitted his report to him in detail dealing with the methods of war fare in this region as well as the main strongholds in its various parts.[18] Thereafter Abdullah deputed him to report the Caliph.

When Hukaim arrived, the Caliph inquired whether he had visited the 'Indian' (Sindh) frontiers;[19] and whether he had investigated the conditions? Thereupon, Hukaim replied: "I have known them and have a thorough and correct knowledge of them".[20] The Caliph then asked him to describe those lands, whereupon Hukaim submitted the substance of his report marked with his characteristic exactitude. He said: "There the water is scanty, the fruit is poor, the land mountainous,[21] and the robbers are bold.[22]

A small army perishes there while a large one starves.[23] Thus, Hukaim stated his opinion summarily and sensibly before the Caliph, but his moving eloquence was perplexing. Therefore, the Caliph further inquired: "Are you a reporter or an orator?" "Indeed, a reporter" was the reply.[24]

Hukaim was indeed a reporter and a very accurate one. He had thoroughly surveyed the conditions of Makran and was speaking from his close personal observations. He submitted a memorable report true for all times. Even a modern military mission or an enthusiast explorer would do no better than endorse the considered opinion of Hukaim given in the 7th century AC.

These important factors which would confront an invading army marching through Makran, were carefully noted hy Hukaim, and he accurately mentioned them in his report. An eloquent tribute has been paid to his investigations by a modern officer Col. Holdich who had an opportunity to survey these regions while taking part in the Military Mission which dealt with the question of the Russo-Afghan boundary. With regard to any military undertaking in Makran, Holdich observes: "It is the actual

physical arrangement of Makran topography which really matters; and here we are but treading in the footsteps of the ambiquitious Arab when first he made his way south-eastward from Arabia and from Syria to the Indian frontiers".[25]

The whole of the northern belt is a continuation of the *Dishte-Tut*, or the Great Desert of Kirman, which further eastward expands into the desert of Kharan. This barren desert belt was the greatest stumbling block for any military expeditions, and its waterless wilderness has terrified the military explorers of even modern times.[26] This desert region "would even now be regarded as a formidable undertaking". Henry Pottinger, the British military adventurer, described it as a sea of red sand, whole thrown into an irregular mass of waves.[27] It is visited by pestilential wind, the *Simum* which is also mentioned by Pottinger.[28] Then there was the problem of safety of the troops traversing these difficult mountain ranges and their narrow valleys.

The indigenous tribes in the 7th century A.C. had hardly changed since the days of Alexander who found ferocious tribes inhabiting Gedrosia. He had to struggle against the *Arabians*, the *Orietaes*, the *Parikanoi* (on the west of the river Hingol), Sagittae, and the Sakae.[29] With the waning of the Sassanian Empire these tribes held their independent sway in Makran.

Advent in Balochistan

With the fall of the Sassanid Empire (15 A.H./636 A.D.), Muslim armies had reached its south-eastern province of Makran. During the next seven years, they advanced further south-eastward through Makran and,

according to one report, had reached the eastern city of Qandabil/Gandava, but withdrew after receiving the report of Caliph Umar's death.[30] From 23 A.H./644 A.D. till 92 A.H./711 A.D. the Qandabil division of the Budhiya country, though subjugated by the Muslims, either became a refuge for Arab rebels or was occupied by the Brahman king of Sindh.

It would appear that Caliph Umar had followed a policy of restraint towards the trans-Sassanid powers, particularly the ruler of Sindh. To recall the events in detail, in 23/643-44 the Sindhian army had advanced up to Al-Nahar (The River), in between Makran and Kirman, with the ambition to occupy more of the Sassanid territory in Kirman/ Makran. From the other side, the Muslim forces had also reached the river but while their Commander, Hakam b. Amr al-Taghlabi, halted on his side of the river, the Sindh Commander Rasal crossed over and attacked. When the matter was reported to Caliph Umar, he decided against pursuing the Sindhian forces and ordered commander Hakam to remain on his side of the river and not to cross it over to the other side. Six years later in 29/649-50, the Sindhian Commander again crossed the River, attacked the Muslim camp, and when the matter was reported to Caliph Uthman he allowed the aggression to be punished but only to the extent that it was committed. Accordingly, reinforcements were sent under the newly appointed commander Ubaydullah b. Mu'ammàr al-Tamimi who routed Rasal but stopped on the River and did not cross it over in pursuit of Rasal.[31]

Meanwhile, the Muslims were consolidating their position in Makran and the adjacent areas. Capable commanders, like Muhallab b. Abu Safra and Sinan b. Salamah, sent by Amir Mu'awiya (661-81), established

their hold on Makran. Forestalling the Sindhian ruler Chuch's invasion of Balochistan, they penetrated deep into the territories of Mukah, Nikan and Khusdar (Balochistan). Difficult terrain and presence of the Turk warrior stocks slowed down the advances of the Muslim forces. Gradually the gained control over all the regions and their borders extended to the frontiers of the Brahman kingdom of Sindh.[32]

In 38 A.H./658, the first expedition under Thaghar b. Dha'r had reached the frontier of Kaikanan mountains.[33] Kaikanan (Kalat country) was then a principality of the Hephathalite Turks. In 42 A.H./662 A.D., Harith b. Murrah achieved victory but perished at the hands of the Kaikanians. Two years later, in 44 A.H./664 A.D., Commander Muhallab had an encounter with a contingent of eighteen Turki horsemen of Kaikanan,[34] and latter commander Abdullah b. Sawwar al-Abdi became victorious but was killed.[35] It was during 45-61 A.H./665-680 that Kaikan was subjugated through the successive expeditions led by Sinan, Rashid, Mundhir and Ibn Harri al-Bahili.[36]

Commander Thaghar b. Dh'ar had proceeded against Kikanan in 42 A.H. via Bahraj (in Kirman) and Koh-Payah and he was opposed by the army of Koh-Payah and Kikanan.[37] Thereafter, Rashid marched against this Front during the reign of Amir Muawiyah, collected revenues from the Koh Payah region, and then proceeded ahead against Kikanan.[38] This shows that the way to Kikanan lay through a Pass in the Koh-Payah Range.

As recorded in Fathnama, Amir Muawiyah while appointing Abdullah b. Sawwar al-Abdi as commander of this 'Sind Front', had addressed him thus: "Within the

territories of Sind there is a mountain known as Kikanan where there are horses of high stature and beautiful; these have already been received before you etc.". – instructing him to send him these horses; and we learn from Baladhuri that Abdullah had presented these "Qiqanian horses" to him.[39]

These Kikanian horses have remained a famous breed and are reared to this day in the Sarawan district of Kalat. "The celebrity of these (Kikanan) horses" observes Elliot, "would appear to be a tract further to the East including Sarawan and Nushki, where horses, especially those used on the plain of Mangachar are still in great demand, and whence they are often sent for shipment to the coast".[40] The Kaikanian horses had been so famous that the very name of their habitat Kikan came to mean a 'horse'. It finds numerous references in Sindhi poetry where 'Kikan' invariably means a fine horse". Says the great poet, Shah Abdul Latif (1689-1752 A.D.) expressing helplessness of the lover:

> "I have neither a kikan nor a camel,
> And by foot I am unable to reach![41]

Abdullah b. Sawwar lost his life in this second expedition because the Kikanians had cut off his rear by securing control of the "mountain passes".[42]

The southern Kikan extended, breadthwise, from the Sarawan region of Kalat close to the country of Qandabil beyond which lay the Budhiya region of Sindh. Baladhuri referes to commander Rashid's attack on the Meds of Budhiya on the Kikanan Front.[43] According to Fathnama, commander "Sinan, after his arrival in Kikanan established noble traditions wherever he went until he had reached the tract of Budhiya".[44]

The whole of 'the Buqan front', from Nushki to Qandhar, was designated by the Arab historians as 'Indian Front' being distinct from 'Makran or Sind Front'. According to Baladhuri, 'Abbad b. Ziyad had invaded this 'Indian Front' while attacking Qandhar. After him, al-Mundhir was appointed to command this Front, and he first advanced against' al-Buqan' and then against 'Qiqan' until he conquered Qusdar.[45] Baladhuri further records that Musa b. Imran, the Governor of Sind during the region of Mu'tasim, built a town in the vicinity of old Buqan and named it al-Baida.[46]

Conquest of Sindh

It has generally been argued that General Muhammad b. al-Qasim invaded Sindh in retaliation for the boats carrying Muslim families having been looted by pirates on the coastline of Sindh. The conflict, in fact, had a long history. The piracy was but the last willful aggression committed by Dahar, the ruler of Sindh, which eventually moved the Ummayad Caliph Walid to reluctantly sanction full scale military action against him.

Soon after the last battle of the River, the Buddhist monarch of Sindh, Rai Sahasi, died in 32/652 and his Brahman minister Chuch usurped the throne of Sindh. For most of his long reign of forty years, Chuch remained busy in subjugating the hostile Budhist country. The people of Sindh, — particularly the powerful Lohana, Samma, Kaka, Channa, Buddh and the Jut communities — put up a strong resistance which involved Chuch in long campaigns in different parts of Sindh. During later years of his reign, he embarked upon his campaign in Makran, subjugated it and advanced up to the River, but being better informed and

more farsighted he did not come in conflict with the Muslim forces and accepted the River (Mashkel?) as the boundary line between the Makran side of his kingdom and the Kirman side under Muslims. On the other hand, he attempted to capture Qandabil (Gandava), the strategic capital of the northern Budhiya country, between Sindh and Turan.

On Chuch's death (c.72/691), he was succeeded by his brother Chandra who was a religious man and kept peace for seven years, but after his death when Chuch's son Dahar occupied the throne by about 80/699, he revived hostilities against Muslims in Makran. Being less farsighted, and more emotional and superstitious, Dahar not only failed to appreciate the superior power of the Caliphate but he even did not hesitate to commit acts of aggression by giving refuge to the Arab rebels.

REFERENCES

1. Tabari, I/2705 followed by I.Athir, III/22.
2. Fathnama, pp.48-49
3. Tabari, I/2707.
4. Fathnama, pp.48-49.
5. Tabari, I/2704.
6. Most probably the battle with fought on the banks of the Mashkal river.
7. Tabari, I/2707.
8. Loz. cit.
9. Cf. The words al-Hakam, the Supreme Commander, as expressed by him in his verses quoted by Tabari (I/2708)

ومهران لنا فيما اردنا
مطيع غير مسترخي
العنان

The Mihran would be ours in what we have planned
Submissive to us, though it is difficult to subjugate.

10. Baladhuri, p.432, and Fathnama, pp.73-76.

11. Here Baladhuri uses '*Indian Front*' (ثغر الهند) for the first time, in a general sense, including the Sindian Front, though later on a fine distinction is made by him between the Sindian and the Indian Fronts.

12. According to some report, Caliph Uthman had directed Abdullah b. Amir to entrust this missions to Hukaim (cf.Fathnama, second report, p.75). The selection was most probably made by Abdullah b. Amir, as recorded by Baladhuri (p.432) and Fathnama (the first report, p.74).

13. Hukaim b. Jabalah b. Husain b. Aswad b. Ka'b b. Amir b. al-Harith b. al-Diyal belonged to the clan of Banu al-Diyal b. Amr b. Ghanam b. Wadi'a (Ibn Hazm, Jamharah, Vol.II; also Nahj II/297) of the stock of Abd-al-Qais, hence also known as al-Abdi.

14. Nahj-al-Balagha, II/501.

15. Isti'ab on the margin of Isabah I/325-27; while fighting his leg was cut off, but promptly catching hold of his leg he struck his opponent with it and knocked him down. Then crawling on his back he killed him before he himself succumbed.

16. Tabari, I/2922.

17. According to Baladhuri (pp.392-93), when Abdullah b. Amir commenced his march towards Khurasan in 30 A.H. and arrived at Shirjan, he dispatched Rabi towards Sijistan from there. Most probably he arrived at Shirjan in Kirman by the end of 30 A.H., and was engaged in subjugating the Sassanid forces during this year; therefore, from Kirman he seems to have commenced his march towards Khurasan in 31 A.H. as can be gleaned from Tabari, I/2885. According to Ibn Hiban quoted by Ibn Hajar (Isabah, I/504-5), he is said to have been appointed by Abdullah b. Amir in 29 A.H. which probably is not correct.

18. Fathnama, p.75.

19. Fathnama has 'whether you visited Hind', while according to Baladhuri 'whether you have inquired into the conditions of these lands'.

20. Baladhuri, p.432 (قد عرفتها و تنحرتها).

21. Omitted in Baladhuri.

22. Baladhuri, 'The robbers are bold'.

23. See Fathnama, p.75, which has the full statement as:

گفت: ماءها وَشل و ثمرها دقل وارضها جبل واهلها بطل:

قَلّ الجيش بها ضاعوا وإن كثروا جاعوا

See also Baladhuri, p.432, and Isti'ab (on the margin of Isabah I/224-26). For the English translations of the passage see Elliot I/116 and the English translation of Baladhuri, II/210.

24. Baladhuri, p.432.

25. Ibid, p.321.

26. Holdich, Gates of India, p.339.

27. Ibid, pp.334, 339-42.

28. Ibid, p.163.

29. As in Ibn Sa'd's tabaqat quote above.

30. Fathnama, op.cit., p.53.

31. Tabari, Vol.I, pp.2707-2709 and 2829-2831.

32. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p.432.

33. Fathnama, op.cit., pp.54-44.

34. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p.432.

35. Ibid, p.433.

36. Ibid, pp.432-33; Fathnama, pp.58-60.

37. Fathnama, pp.54, 55. Koh Payah is known as '*Kalag Pahaar*'.

38. Ibid, pp.58-59.

39. Baladhuri, p.433.

40. Elliot, I/383.

41. The Risalo, Sur Khambhat (نہ کر ھو نہ کیکان، پیرین آءُ نہ پچئي)

42. Fathnama, pp.56-57.

43. Baladhuri p.433. The province known as Budhiyya was inhabited by the Budh and the Med people (Ibn Haukal p.231).Thus when it is stated that Rashid attacked the Meds, it means he attacked them in Budhiya.

44. Fathnama, pp.57-58.

45. Baladhuri, p.393.

46. Loc. cit.

VI

THE ANCIENT DYNASTIES OF SINDH.

The ancient historical record is rarely preserved in any work of history. Names of kings and heros of bygone times, or of events and sages, have survived as a part of the ancient memories. Only partial information about some ancient eras becomes available through archaeological discoveries. The following account of the three ancient ruling powers in Sindh, which is reconstructed from references and inferences based on a few sources, will need further appraisal and streamlining in the light of the more dependable sources becoming available.

The Sakas/ Scythians, 1st to 5th century A.D.

The ancient history of Sindh begins with the Saka's conquest in the 1st century A.D. Beruni has preserved a report based on the early record of the local astronomers to the effect that the people of Sindh were tyrannized by the Saka King who ruled them. Whereupon, king Vikramaditya marched against him and killed him. Beruni has recorded the event as under:

> "Saka (King) tyrannized over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Aryavarta, in the midst of this realm, his dwelling place. He interdicted the Indians (Sindhians) from considering and representing themselves as anything but Sakas. Some maintain that he was a Sudra from the city of Almansurah; others maintain that he was not an Indian at all and that he had come to India from the West. The Sindhians had much to suffer from him,

till Vikramaditya marched against him, put him to fight and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous, and was used as the epoch of an era, expecially by the astronomers."[1]

This unique victory against the Sakas became memorable and the Sakas Kala or Saka Era commenced from that year, i.e. 78/79 A.D. However, despite this event, the Sakas /Scythians occupied Sindh and ruled for more than four centuries until they were supplanted by the rulers of the Rai Dynasty in the 1st quarter of the 5th century A.D.

The Sakas/Sivis /Scythians had ruled Southern Iran and Afghanistan from the 1st century A.D. onwards, and the country they settled for long was called after them Sakaistan/Sijistan/Sivistan/Seistan. Later, they occupied Balochistan and their capital became known as Siva/Seva (Kalat) while their provincial town further eastward was called Sivi/Sibi. From thence they moved and occupied Sindh.

The Sakas who ruled Sindh for more than four centuries had stamped their racial name 'Sivistan' (Land of the Sivis) on Western Sindh, with 'Sivhan' (*Sivi-wahan* = settlement of Sivis) as their capital. That city by the name of Sivhan/Sewhan has survived to this day. The Scythian remains have also been discovered in western Sindh from the site of Debal (39 miles south of Karachi).

The Budhist_Rai Dynasty mid 5th to mid 7th century A.D.

The Rai Dynasty regained power by the middle of the 5th century A.D. from the Sakas/Sivis/Scythians. The Sassanians in Iran and the Rai Kings in Sindh brought about the downfall of the Sakas, possibly by joint action terminating in joint celebrations which are referred to in

early sources. The Sassanian monarch Bahram-Gur (430-438 A.D.) wrote to the Rai of Sindh to send the famous Loriyan musicians to Iran. Firdosi in Shahnama calls the ruler of Sindh 'Shah' and gives his name as Shangal,[2] which can be no other than Changal', --- a name that is common and popular in Sindh to this day. The renouned historian Minhaj-i-Siraj in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (658 H./1260) has mentioned the ruler of Sindh after his dynastic title as Rai[3]. A number of early sources confirm that the Iranian monarch Bahram married the daughter of the Rai who confered his two provinces of Debal and Makran as dowary on him.[4] He was Changal Rai of Sindh who may be considered the founder of the Rai Dynasty. He was contemporary of the Sassanid monarch Sahram-V (430-438).

Sufficient information on later rulers of the Rai Dynasty is preserved in Fathnamah-i-Sindh[5], a unique work based on researches of early Muslim historians. Sindh was Budhist from the times of Kanishka, and the rulers as well as the people were strong followers of Budhism. Rai Saharas-II was the more illustrious of them. In Fathnama, he is mentioned as 'Rai Saharas son of Ra Sahsi'. He ruled Sindh for long, beginning from the close of the 6th century A.D., and died in 626 A.D. He had succeeded his father 'Sahsi—The Elder' (Sahsi-I). His kingdom extended to Kashmir on the East, to Makran on the west, to the ocean and port of Debal on the south, and to the Kurd Mountains and Kaikanon on the north. He had his four Governors posted in Brahmanabad, Sivistan, Iskalanda (Fort Uch) and Multan[6] who were the pillars of his power. From his capital city of Aror, he himself administered Kurdan, Kaikanon and Barhas[7]. Kurdan and Kaikanon were the present Kalat and Makran, while Barhas/Banras/Barhmas (not yet identifiable) was beyond Kurdan and Kaikanon adjacent to

Kirman (Iran). That Saharas kept the governance of these latter parts directly under his own the control was possibly due to the on going conflict with Iran.

An alliance against the Scythians would appear to have existed between the Sassanian Court and the Rai Dynasty from the days of Bahram Cur and Rai Changal; later on, when Saharas-II became strong, asserted his independence and extended his frontiers towards Kirman (Iran), the Sassanian emperor, in turn, imposed his ascendancy and despatched his Satrap of Nimruz (Seistan) with a strong army to invade Sindh. According to Fathnama:

> Saharas Rai s/o Sahsi Rai, the western boundaries of whose kingdom extended up to Kurdan Mountains and Kikanan (i.e. Kalat and Makran), had continued to rule his realm successfully from the capital city of Aror, when all of a sudden, an army of the King of Fars (Persia) arrived in Kirman from the side of Nimruz (Seistan). When Saharas learnt of this, he personally marched out and engaged the invading army in a fierce battle in which a number of brave warriors from both the sides were killed. Then the Persians made a determined attack and the army of Saharas was routed. For the sake of his honour and prestige, Saharas took a firm stand and continued fighting till he was killed. Thereupon, the Satrap of Nimruz tuned back (to Seistan).[8]

That the invading army did not proceed any further into the Sindhian kingdom but turned back would indicate that the determined stand of Saharas to the last had contained the onward march of the invading army from proceeding any further. The defeat and death of Saharas-II (626 A.D.) became a victory in effect, which made Rai Sahsi, the son of the fallen hero, stronger than ever in his realm, and the year 4 H/626 A.D. marked the commencement of a new Era, the Sindh Era, which originated with the above event in Sindh.[9]

Rai Sahsi-II

Rai Sahsi - II succeeded his father Rai Saharas-II in 4 H/626 A.D. and ruled strong in the foot steps of his father. The four Governors submitted and served Rai Sahsi faithfully. As observed in Fathnama, the "Kingdom of his grand father Rai Sahsi-the Elder, came entirely under his governance"[10]. The great event of his father Saharas-II dying on battle field had ushered in the new Sindh Era and added to Sahsi's prestige and power. He advanced against Iran, and his army marched up to NAHR (River). This event is not mentioned in Fathnama, but historian Tabari has recorded the attacks of the Sindh Ruler on the River (Al- Nahr) in the year 23 H. (644 A.D.).

In Tabari's account of the 'Battle of River' (in Iranian Makran/Kirman?), the name of the commander attacking from Sindh is given as 'Rasal'. This name, then common in Sindh, occurs in the accounts of both Fathnama and Baladhuri for different individuals none of whom was a king of Sindh. But as Tabari's account of the 'Battle of River' is a unique one in detail, 'Rasal' was King of Sindh in 23 H/644 A.D[11]. There is reason to believe, on philological ground, that Tabari's 'Rasal' (*Ra-sal=Ra-Sah*) was none else than Rai Sahsi.

To avenge the death of his father, Rai Sahsi advanced against Iran. His army had attacked the region along Al-Nahr (The River) twice but could not advance any further, because the situation on The River (Mashkal?) had changed. The Caliphate's forces had already defeated the Sassanians and occupied the country up to The River, but they were forbidden by Caliph Umar to cross the River. On the second attack in the year 29 H/649-50 A.D. when

Sahsi's army had crossed The River, Caliph Uthman permitted the Muslim commander to prevent the attacking force from crossing The River. The newly appointed commander, Ubaydullah b. Mu'ammar al-Tamimi, utterly routed Sahsi's army but did not cross The River to persue the enemy.[12]

This was a set back for Sahsi. He had ruled for 24 years (4-29 A.D.) and was not strong enough to continue warfare far off on the Iranian Front. However, his main weakness was his own home; his queen, Soonhandi, had conspired with Brahman Minister Chuch to subvert Rai Sahsi's rule. Three years after his defeat in the Battle of River, Rai Sahsi died in 32 H/652 A.D.

The Brahman Dynasty, 652-712 A.D.

Ascendancy of Brahmans during the Gupta Period brought about Hindu Renaissance with which began the conquest of Budhism in the fifth century.[13]. It was a transition from Budhist India to Brahmanical India which continued up to the 11th century A.D. As observed by Majmudar "beginning from the 7th century A.D., Brahmans exchanged priestly for material pursuits"[14] and attempted to capture political power. In particular, Brahman courtiers succeeded in subverting the rule of their Budhist masters. An early case of such subversion was the downfall of the Budhist ruler of Sindh by the intrigues of a highly trained Brahman courtier, Chuch by name.[15]

Chuch s/o Sela'ij (652-692 A.D.)

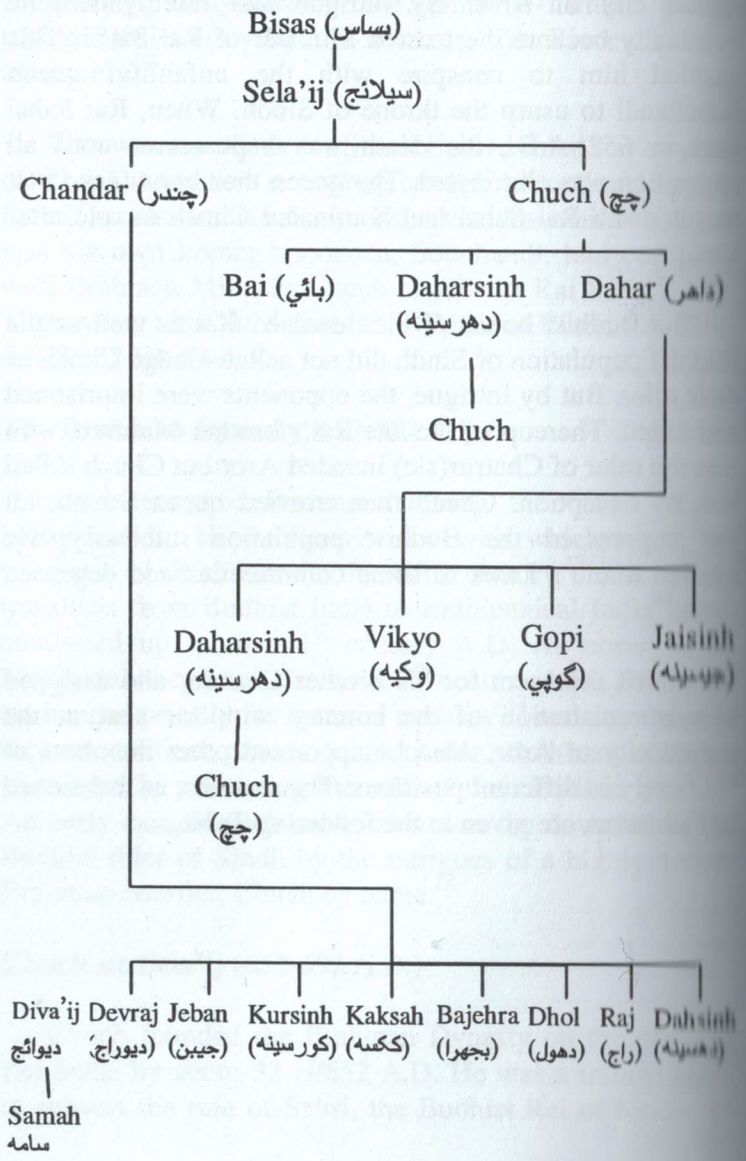
Chuch founded the Brahman Dynasty on the death of Rai Sahsi by about 32 H/652 A.D. He was a trained agent to subvert the rule of Sahsi, the Budhist Rai of Sindh. To

begin with, Chuch succeeded in securing employment under Ram, the Chamberlain of Rai Sahsi, by claiming to be son of Sela'ij, the Brahman priest of a temple near the capital city of Aror. By intrigue and intelligence, he eventually became the trusted Minister of Rai Sahsi. This enabled him to conspire with the unfaithful queen Soonhandi to usurp the throne of Sindh. When, Rai Sahsi died in 652 A.D., his death was kept secret until all opposition was eliminated. The queen then announced that on his death Rai Sahsi had nominated Chuch to rule after him.

The Budhist house of the deceased Rai as well as the Budhist population of Sindh did not acknowledge Chuch as their ruler. But by intrigue, the opponents were imprisoned and killed. Thereupon, the late Rai's brother Mahrath, who was the ruler of Chatrur(sic) invaded Aror but Chuch killed him by deception. Chuch then married queen Soonhandi and suppressed the Budhist population ruthlessly. He applied Manu's Laws to some communities and degraded them.[16]

Chuch then sent for his brother Chandar and assigned him administration of the country with his seat at the capital city of Aror. Also he appointed other members of his family in different positions. Their names, as mentioned in Fathnama, are given in the following Table.

Genealogical Table of the Ruling Brahman Dynasty



Chuch then set out to subjugate the neighbouring rulers. He is credited in Fathnama to have achieved victories in Bhatia, Multan, Uch and Sivistan; and that he also demarketed the boundaries of his kingdom with Kashmir in the North East and Kirman in the North West. More difficult was Chuch's occupation of Brahmanabad. The city was the capital of Agham, the head of the Lohana people, who fought against Chuch but being defeated Agham retreated to the fort of Brahmanabad. Agham wrote for assistance to the ruler of Kannuj, but he died before any assistance arrived. However, the Budhist Monk, Budh-Rakhu by name, who was an ally of Agham, retired to his temple of Kan-Vihar, and remained opposed to Chuch.

Chuch rode out to meet the Monk personally at his sanctuary close to Kan-Vihar outside the city of Brahmanabad. There Chuch waited on Bhikshu Budh-Rakhu, but he paid no heed to Chuch and continued his service of stamping the image of Budha on devotional Tablets.[17] Eventually, Chuch succeeded in befriending him and, through him, he also placated the widow of Agham by giving the daughter of his newphew Dahsinh in marriage to Agham's son Sarband[18]. Having disarmed all opposition, Chuh ruled strong for forty years.[19] He died in 92 H/692 A.D.

Chandar son of Sela'ij

After Chuch's death, his brother Chandar ascended the throne in the capital city of Aror. He ruled seven years and died in 699 A.D. /80 A.H.

Dahar son of Chuch

Chandar was a religious man and kept peace for seven years. Dahar who succeeded him was not experienced to rule the country. Also he was less farsighted, and emotional and superstitious. Not only he failed to appreciate the power of the Umayyad Caliphate, but he did not hesitate to commit acts of open hostility.

In 81/700 Dahar gave refuge to the army rebel 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abbas al-Hashimi'.[20] In 84-85/703-704, a contingent of the Ilafi tribe revolted on the Makran Front and killed the Front Commander Sa'id b. Aslam al Qandabil[21]. However, when the newly appointed Commander Mujja'ah attacked them, they fled to Sindh where Dahar gave them ready refuge and also assigned them important positions in his army[22]. These were hostile acts, but in view of the Caliphate's continued policy of restraint towards Sindh, no retaliatory action was taken. Dahar seemed to have viewed this as a weakness and remained adamant in defying the Caliphate.

Later on, by about 706-708 A.D., the King of Silla (Korea) sent to Hajjaj, the Viceroy of Iraq, widows and orphan children of those Muslims who had died in Korea so that they would unite with their kith and kin. The boats carrying them were attacked and looted on the coastline of Sindh, and all were taken prisoners. A lady belonging to the Bani Yarbu' community then cried for help, and called up Hajjaj by name- *Ya Hajjaj! YaHajjaj! Ya Hajjaj!* to rescue them from their captors.[23]

Hajjaj responded promptly, but in view of the continued policy of restraint towards Sindh, he first tried to settle the matter peacefully and wrote to Dahar to release the

prisoners.[24] After receiving Dahar's negative reply, Hajjaj first dispatched a small naval force under the command of 'Ubaydullah b.Nabhan against the port of Debal. Anticipating such a move, Dahar had made full war preparations with the result that Ubaydullah was killed in the battle at Debal. Hajjaj then sent another naval force under the command of Budayl but he was also killed at Debal.[25]

It was after these reverses, that Hajjaj sought permission from Caliph Walid to panish Dahar. The Caliph agreed reluctantly after Hajjaj had represented the case thrice. Then, in 92 H, Hajjaj put a strong force, an armada and army, under the supreme command of Muhammad b. al-Qasim who defeated and killed Dahar on the 10th of Ramada, 92 H/712 A.D. With this event ended the rule of the Brahman Dynasty.

REFERENCES

1. Beruni' (i) Al-Qanun al-Mas'udi, Arabic text, Hyderabad Deccan, 1373 H/1954, Vol.I, Chapter VI, pp.172-180; and (ii) Alberuni's India, (Eng. tr. by Sachao) London, 1910, Vol.I, p.8 and Vol.II, Chapter XI-IX, pp.1-10. Sachao has translated the original word in the text as 'Hindus' which has been substituted by 'Indians'/ 'Sindhians'.

2. The relevant verses in Shahnama:

بنزدیک شنگل فرستاد کس چنین گفت کاي شاه فریاد اس
ازان لوریان برگزین ده هزار نرومادهٔ بر زخم بربط سوار
چونامهٔ بنزدیک شنگل رسید سر از فخر بر چرخ گردون رسید
هم آنگاه شنگل گزین کرد زود زلولي کجا شاه فرمود بود

3. (راي), as in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Vol.I, p.162, Persian text, Kabul, 1963), may be transliterated as 'Rao'. But to distinguish this ancient Dynasty of Sindh, the title (راي) is transliterated as 'Rai'. *Ra-i*, instead of *Rao*, has been the standard pronunciation in Sindhi language.

4. For reference to the events of marriage and the musicians, see Farsnamh of Ibn al-Balkhi (Gibb Memorial Series) p.82; Tabari (The Annals, 1/868); Ibn Miskawaih (Tajarib, 1/157); and Tha'alibi (Ghurar, pp.650-64).The 'Tale of Bahram Gur' versified by Nizami Ganjavi (d. turn of 6th/12th century) in 'Haft Paykar' popularized Bahram in Persian literary tradition in Sindh and Hind. In Sindh, however, it was already deeply rooted in local folklore. During 1958-60, I was able to discover seven versions of the story of 'Banko Bahram' (The Brave Bahram) from different parts of Sindh. For their text see Sindhi Folklore Volume No.34, published by Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, 1964.

5. Fathnamah-i-Sindh: (i) Persian text, ed. Baloch N.A., International Islamic University, Islamabad, 1403 H/1982; (ii) Sindhi Translation, ed. Baloch N.A., Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, 1954. In the following pages, only Persian text of Fathnama is cited.

6. Fathnama, pp.10-11.

7. Ibid, p.11. The mss. variations are برهماس، بنراس، برهاس in Fathnama. It appears from context in Fathnama that originally کرمان was meant.

8. Fathnama, pp.10-11.

9. For detail, see "The Historical Sindh Era" in '*SINDH, Studies Historical*' by Baloch N.A., published by Pakistan Study Centre, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, Pakistan, 1224 A.H/2003 A.D. The 'Sindh Era' commenced from the 1st of Chaitra month of Zero Sindh Era, that is 4th of March 626.

10. Fathnama, p.11.

11. Tabari, Universal History, Arabic Text, Leiden, Vol.I, p.2707.

12. Ibid., De Goeje's edition, Leiden, Vol. I, pp.2707-2709 & pp.2829-2831.

13. Oxford History of India (OHI), p.173.

14. Majmudar, R.C.: History of Bengal, Dacca, 1943, p.207.

15. This was probably the first success of the scheme of subversion of Budhism by the Brahman courtiers. Fifty years later in Kashmir, by about 700 A.D., the Court Minister Khankha's love affair with queen Anangaiekha enabled the courtier Durlabhavardhana to

topple the rule of Budhist King Baladitya and occupy the throne as the first king of the Karkota dynasty. In the trans-Indus region of Peshawar, the Brahman Minister Kallar subverted the rule of his master, the Budhist Turkish King Lagturman (of a collalaral line of the Turkish kings of Kabul). In Southern India the powerful peninsular rulers in the 8th century suppressed the Budhist and the Jain population and eventually banished Budhism to Sri Lanka. Later on, Samantasena of Karnata conquered Bengal ending the rule of Budhist Pala Dynasty.

16. All information about Chuch is based on Fathnama, pp.14-38. For Chuch having applied the Laws of Manu to Jutts in Sindh, see Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo Muslim History*, Bombay 1939, Vol.I, pp.86-87.

17. The site of this sanctuary was visited by me in 1952 and, according to the eye witness accounts, a number of Tablets stamped with Budha's image were unearthed from here. For details, vide Fathnama-i-Sind (i) pp.29-30 of the Persian text of Fathnama, Islamabad, 1983, and (ii) pp.410-411 of the Sindhi translation of Fathnama, Hyderabad Sindh, 1954.

18. Fathnama, p.31.

19. Ibid, p.35.

20. Tabari, Universal History, op.cit, Vol.II, p.1110.

21. At present Gandava is in district Kachhi of Balochistan, Pakistan.

22. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, De Goeje's Edition, p.435; Fathnama, Persian Text, pp.62-63.

23. Baladhuri, Futuh al-Buldan, op.cit., pp435-36. An evaluation of the recorded evidence indicates that most probably the King of Silla, and not of Sehlan or Ceylon, had sent the boats carrying widows and orphans. For detailed discussion, see Fathnamah, Persian text op. cit., 'Notes & Commentary', pp.49-57.

24. Baladhuri, Futuh, pp. 68-69.

25. Fathnamah, op. cit., 'Notes & Commentary', pp.66-70.

VII

THE TAKKA COUNTRY.

Enough is known about Taxila as a modern town and as an archaeological site. There has always existed a settlement/town/city on the site of Taxila, but while the archaeologist has uncovered its ancient past, its existence *during historic times* has not been fully studied. References to the 'Taxila based' town/city/ country during the Islamic period date as far back as the second decade of the 8th century A.D. in the accounts of the conquest of Sind by Mohammad b. Qasim, and continue on subsequently through the early period of Islamic history for the next four or five hundred years. An attempt is made in the following pages to survey and evaluate the historical data of the Islamic period, as far as possible.

The name 'Taxila' is but a reminiscent of the ascendancy of the Tak people in this northern most region of the Punjab. It must have been founded by a chief or a king of the Taks, since the prefix 'Tak', referring to the Tak people who founded it, is discernible in all the varying forms of this place name.[1]

The Lower Indus Valley of Sind and the southern Punjab were possibly the first home and habitat of the Tak people. According to *Beglarnama*, the 'Pania', the 'Tak' and the 'Mumed' were the most ancient rulers of Sind.[2] It would appear that the Taks later migrated northwards to the Punjab, the last remnants of their population having probably left Sind during the Scythian occupation in the 1st

/2nd century A.D. In the Punjab not only they became a ruling power but also stamped their name 'Takka-desha' on a vast country including the Sub-Himalayan ranges of the Punjab, from the Indus to the Beas. Still later, under political compulsions, they would appear to have moved and concentrated themselves further to the north-west, mainly in the region between the river Indus on the west and the Jhelum/Chenab on the east. Their Tak-city, the progenitor of the present Taxila, remained the capital of their kingdom for centuries.

The Budhist Ra'i Dynasty ruled Sind until the first quarter of the 7th century when their throne was usurped by Chuch, the Brahman, with whose ascendancy Sind passed on under the rule of the Brahman Dynasty which came to an end in 712 A.D. with the conquest of Muhammad b Qasim. At the courts of the rulers of these two dynasties in Sind during the 7th century A.D., some members of the Tak community held high positions. They were known by their surname of 'Taki, i.e. belonging to the Tak race and/or Takka country. In *Fathnama,* two of them are specifically mentioned by their surname as Budhiman Taki and Bajera Taki.[3]

Budhiman was a clever and crafty courtier, known by his honorific title of 'Budhiman Vezier Taki',[4] who served three rulers successively. He was Prime Minister of Rai Sahasi,[5] the last Buddhist ruler of the Rai Dynasty, and managed to retain the same position under Brahman Chuch who had usurped the Sind throne by conspiring with the queen of Rai Sahasi. He supplied Chuch with detailed information on the boundaries of the then Sindhian Kingdom.[6] His close acquaintance with the northern frontiers of the kingdom touching the borders of the Takka country and Kashmir enabled Chuch to extend

his sway in that direction. Budhiman also retained his position with Dahar who had succeeded his father Chuch. He wielded considerable influence with Dahar during the first years of his reign (after which Syakar figures as his Chief Minister)[7]. When astrologers informed Dahar that if his sister Bai were married outside, the throne of Sind would go to her husband. Budhiman argued persuasively in favour of Dahar himself marrying Bai in order to retain the throne,[8] (and Dahar acted accordingly). Also Budhiman dissuaded Dahar from trusting his younger brother Daharsinh and enabled Dahar to vanquish him by resorting to deception.[9] He also advised Dahar to avail of the services of the Arab chief Muhammad 'Ilafi who had taken refuge with him, and use him in the critical hour by dispatching him against the invading army of King of Ramal (present territories of Bikaner and Jodhpur).[10]

Bajera Taki was a military commander under Dahar and held for him the Fort of Sikkah which was situated to the south of Multan on the southern bank of the Ravi river. After Dahar's defeat and death (712 A.D) when Muhammad b. Qasim marched against Sikkah, Bajera defended the Fort for some time but eventually crossed the river and fled to Multan to join the forces there.[11]

Fathnama also contains some important references to the situation of the Takka country and its chief city by about the mid- seventh century. Referring to the Brahman ruler Chuch's march from Multan to the borders of the Takka country and Kashmir it is recorded:

> After subjugating Multan, he (proceeded onwards and) secured allegiance from the rulers of (the three principalities with their capitals at) Brahmapur, Karor and Ishbahar. And *from there* (i e Ishbahar), he (marched onwards and) reached the frontiers of Takesar and Kashmir. No ruler resisted him and which ever place he besieged it was subjugated till he arrived at the Fort of Shakalhar situated higher than Takesar[12] on the frontier of Kashmir. Here he halted for a month and planted two saplings, of 'supaidar' and 'devdar', on the bank of the stream called 'Panj-Mahiyat' flowing by the side of the Kashmir Mountain (Range) and rising from its springs, and declared: 'this is our boundary with the ruler of Kashmir'.[13]

These adventures of Chuch took place sometime by the middle of the 7th century A.D. About 60 years later, Muhammad b Qasim followed the same route from Multan onwards, and most probably he also reached the frontiers of the Takka country and Kashmir. Though no detailed information on his sojourns to the north of Multan has been preserved, this much is recorded in *Fathnama* that he had subjugated Karor, Ishbahar and Brahmapur, and appointed Ahmad b Khuzaimah b. 'Atbah Madani as Governor of Karor and Ishbahar, and Khuraim b. 'Abdul Malik Tamimi as Governor of Brahmapur.[14] Karor could be no other than Kote Karor; Ishbahar, originally Ishva-Vihara(?) was a Buddhist town and territory, while "the Fort of Brahmapur was situated on the bank of the Jhelum river."[15] About Brahmapur, Ali Kufi the translator of *Fathnama* writing in 613/1216 added that "*it is* (i.e in 613 A.H.) known as Sopur or Sivapur."[16] Beyond the boundaries of Brahmapur, i.e. beyond river Jhelum, was the Takka country.

The third reference pertains to the Arab Chief Muhammad b. Harith 'Ilafi's visit to 'Bilad-i-Takiyah' (Takka Country) and Kashmir. Muhammad 'Ilafi' with his five hundred men[17] had taken refuge in Sind with Dahar

sometime after the year 85/704. 'Ilafi' had eventually accompanied Jaisinh the son of Dahar, to Chitor.[18]

The Sindhian kingdom during the 7th and the early 8th century had a common border with *Bilad-i-Takiyah* (Takka Country) and Kashmir, both of which are mentioned together as two adjacent countries. From its province of Multan, the territories of the Sindhian kingdom extended northwards through the three principalities of Karor, Ishbahar and Brahmapur up to the frontiers of *Bilad-i-i-Takiyah* and Kashmir. The Takka Country lay beyond the province of Brahmapur, i.e. to the north west of the river Jhelum. In the early 8th century A.D., the country of the Taks was known to the Muslims as '*Bilad-i-Takiyah*' i.e. 'the territories of the Tak people'. Its capital city was called Takesar, and after its name the country was also known by the same name.

In these references, though the Takka country (*Bilad-i-Takiyah*) and its chief city Takesar are mentioned, there is no reference to the 'Kingdom' as such, to any king or ruler thereof, or to any resistance met by Chuch there. This is in contrast to the reference to the subjugation of the rulers of Karor, Ishbahar and Brahmapur by Chuch, and so also by Muhammad b. Qasim who appointed his governors there. There is no mention of the conquest of Takesar. This would indicate that though the Takka country had retained its traditional name due to the concentration of the Tak communities therein, they had lost all political power and the country ceased to be an independent powerful kingdom for sometime.

The size and situation of the Takka country during

the 7th and the early 8th century was much different than it was in earlier times. The contemporary evidence of *Fathnama* calls for a reappraisal of the different views on the subject, particularly of Cunningham's speculation on the size of the 'Kingdom of Tseh Kia' or Taki mentioned by Huein Tsang as having embraced "the whole of the plains of the Punjab from the Indus to the Beas and from the foot of the mountains (Himalayas) to the juncture of the five rivers (Punjab), below Multan."[19] The description left by Huein Tsang is, in all probability of the Taki Kingdom *as it once was*, but it had already suffered fragmentation[20] when Huein Tsang wrote. Even according to Cunningham the kingdom of Taki in the 7th century was divided into three provinces of Taki, Shorkot and Multan, though his conjecture about the boundaries of the Taki province would appear to be wide off the mark when he says that the: "province of Taki comprised the plains of the Punjab, lying between the Indus and the Beas, to the north of Multan District, and the whole of the Chaj Doab, together with the upper portions of the three Doabs of Sind-Sager, Rechna and Bari"[21]. That this was not the position in the 7th century is obvious from the evidence in *Fathnama*.

The references in *Fathnama* are the earliest ones which clearly distinguish between the Takia/Takian/Takka country and its capital city, by naming the country as *Bilad-i-Takiyah* and the city as Takesar. This distinction is of great value in disengaging the name of the country from that of the city for purpose of location. In the later works, except for an important clarification in *Alberuni's India'* which has remained unnoticed so far, this distinction is not always clear with the result that the one has often been confused with the other.

After *Fathnama*, the Takka Country comes under reference continuously in the travel and geographical literature of the 9th and the 10th centuries. It finds the first and the earliest reference in the factual and statistical compilation of Ibn Khurdazbih, the Post-Master General of Baghdad, in 232/846[22]; then in the Travel Account of Sulaiman the Merchant[23] in 237/51; thereafter in the well recorded account of Ibn Rustah[24] in about 300 /911 ; later on more copiously and clearly, in *Mas'udi's Muruj al-Dhahb*'[25] which he completed in 332/943; and finally by the author of *Hudud al-Alam*[26] who began writing his book in 372/982.

A close study of the text and the context of these references would indicate that the correct name of the country. as originally mentioned by the authors, was 'Taqi', 'Taqan' or 'Taqin', though in some of the printed editions manuscript errors have been repeated in a variety of misreadings such as *Tafi, Tafiq, Tafaq,Tafan* etc. Minorsky in his edition of *Hudud al-Alam*[27] has adopted the originally correct reading of 'Taqi' or 'Taqin', while Hodivala has convincingly argued that the correct reading should be Taqin.[28] According to Minorsky, these references pertain to the country named as *Takka dera* or *Takka visaya* in Rajtrangini and Hsuan *Tsang's Tseh-kia* which bordered in the east on the Vipasa (Bias) and in the west on the Indus.[29] In so far as the location and identification of the Taqan/Takian/Takka country and kingdom in the 10th century A D. is concerned, Masudi's statements are clear and conclusive. He mentions together both the Rai of Kashmir and the King of Taqan/Taqin, specifying further that these kingdoms are situated in the mountains away from the sea; he traces the course of the river Mihran (Indus) as having its source in the northern high ranging mountains and then flowing down from Kashmir,

'Kandhar' (=Gandhara) and Taqan/Taqin (country); and he also specifically refers to the king of Taqan/Taqin being on conciliatory terms with the neighbouring rulers, holding the Muslims in high esteem, and having a smaller army than others.[30]

Reference may be made to a later work in which also the Takka country is called by the name of Taqan/ Taqin. In *Tabai al-Hayawan* ('The Natural Properties of Animals') of the physician Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi, which he authored in about 514/1120, it is mentioned that 'the king of Taqin has a small kingdom but much wealth and rich territories, and the inhabitants are both of dark and white colour and beauty is common in them'.[31] This statement would appear to be an echo of the earlier statements of Sulaiman, Ibn Rustah and Mas'udi.

Chronologically, the next references occur in three important works of the 11th century, viz. *Kitab Mali'l Hind* (etc.) and *al-Qanun al-Masudi* of Beruni, and *Zainul Akhbar* of Gardezi. Beruni who had gained a close personal acquaintance with the whole region from the Indus to the Jhelum, including the Taxila region, made two interesting and important observations pertaining to this region. He observed that snow on 'the Kularjak mountain (range) of Kashmir is visible from the region of Takeshar and Lohavar',[32] and that "the people living in the Nirhara country, behind Marigala, as far as the utmost frontiers of Takeshar and Lohavar, begin their year with the month of Margasirsha."[33] 'Behind Marigala' means, to the south and east of the Marigala range (as Beruni was writing in Ghazni). Accordingly, the Takeshar country extended towards the Jhelum side whereafter began the Lohavar region.

A decade later, Gardezi in his *Zainul- Akhbar* also

mentioned both 'Takeshar' and 'Lahur' together in the context of Sultan Mahmud's expedition to Kashmir and his seige of the Lohkot (Loharin) fort in the autumn of 412 A H. (September or October of 1021). However due to the advent of severe winter, the Sultan raised the seige and returned to Lahur and Takeshar."[34] The order in which the two names are mentioned would indicate that while returning to Ghazni, i.e. to the north-west, the Sultan first reached Lahur (town/region) and then Takeshar (town/region).

These references of Beruni and Gardezi clearly indicate the mutual geographical position of the two contiguous countries of Takeshar and Lohavar in the early 11th century. Roughly, the Takeshar region extended over the present Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts, and the Lahur region over the Gujrat and Sialkot districts. That this was the position is further confirmed by 'Beruni's observations in *al-Qanun al-Mas'udi* that the source of the Chenab river lies in the region adjoining Takeshar and Lohavar.[35]

Takeshar and Lohavar have also been jointly referred to by some later writers[36] of whom *Fakhr-i--Mudabbir* (Fakhruddin Mubarakshah, Muhammad b. Mansur, d.602/1205-06) deserves special notice for the originality of his references in *'Adab al-Harb wa al-Shuja'ah* which he wrote in the later part of the 6th/12th century.

Referring to the ancient period, Fakhr-i-Madabbir mentions a certain King Tahnart, a great grandson of Chuch the founder of Lahore, who bad embarked upon the conquest of Nandanah, Jhelum and Takeshar, and that 'he entered the Takeshar country after having crossed the Chenab.'[37] His second reference pertains to the historical events of the Ghaznavid period. After Sultan Masud's

martyrdom at Marigala, Sultan Ma'udud attacked Multan and wrested the city from the Qarmathians. After he had left for Ghazni, Sunderpal, a grandson of the Shahi ruler of Kabul, returned from southern India to attack and occupy Lahore. He said; "As we first strike Lahore with our forces (and subjugate it, both) Lohavar and Takeshar will (automatically) surrender to us."[38]

These statements confirm the conclusions drawn from the observations of Beruni and Gardezi. (a) Reference to Nandanah, Jhelum and Takeshar together would support the Marigala-range centered location of Takeshar; (b) entry into the Takeshar country after crossing the Chenab is in accordance with Beruni's observation that in its upper reaches Chenab flowed through the region adjoining Takeshar and Lohavar; (c) that after the fall of Lahore Sunderpal envisaged the surrender of 'Lohavar and Takeshar'; would indicate that as viewed from the side of Lahore, the first country to be encountered was Lohavar and then Takeshar.

In these references Takeshar is the same as Takesar of *Fathnama*, Taqan/Taqin of the Muslim geographers, and the Takshasila/Takka Desha of early history. However, Lohavar or Lahur is not the same as the present city of Lahore but, as correctly pointed out by Minorsky, "Lohara valley of the Upper Tohi on the western approaches of Kashmir."[39] Credit goes to Beruni for having identified more precisely Takka-desha or Takshasila of ancient history. As early as the 2nd half of the 6th century, astronomer Varahmihira (d.587 A.D.) in his *Samhita* had mentioned 'Takshasila' as one of the countries situated in the north. While quoting from Varahmihira's text, Beruni clarified by elaborating that "Takshasila (is) the same as Marigala".[40]

According to this clarification, the ancient Takshasila or the Takka country *centered on the Marigala range*, though its boundaries extended on both the sides, to the Indus in the north and west and to the Jhelum/Chenab in the south and east. In other words, the 'Taxila region based on Marigala' was the nerve centre of the historical Takka country, the political boundaries of which, however, differed in the different epochs of history. At the time of Alexander's invasion in the 4th century B.C., and during the reign of his successors, the kingdom of Takshasila extended from the Indus to the Jhelum River. In the Mauryian Empire, Gandhara gained prominence, and Takshasila became its 'Eastern Gandhara' province. However, Gandhara proper was always trans-Indus, i.e. lying to the west of the Indus river. The Scytho-Parthian Kingdom of Takshasila remained Taxila/Marigala centered.

Considerably more extensive boundaries of the Takka country have been conjectured during later centuries, particularly with reference to the Takka province of Vasudeva and Hsuan Tsang's 'Tseh-kia kingdom'. Cunningham's views, which heavily influenced later scholars, have already been considered in the light of the reference to the Takka country in Fathnama.[41] According to Stein, Vasudeva's Takan or Tukan province lay between the Indus and the Beas.[42] Minorsky recognized the ancient Takshasila, Takka desha, Taqin Taqin, and Takeshar to be the same country, but following the earlier interpretations of Hsuan Tsang's 'Tseh-kia kingdom', he was inclined to entertain the view that its capital was situated to the north-east of Sialkot. Thus, Minorsky refers to Hsuan-Tsang's 'Tseh-kia' 'as bordering in the east on the Vipasa (Beas) and in the west on the Indus with its capital situated about 15 li (8.6 kilo meters) to the north east of Sakala or Sialkot. [43] He also refers to the views of S. Levi and Ray, particularly to the

latter's map in which "Takkadesha is shown south of Kashmir and east of Sialkot between the upper courses of the Chenab and Ravi"[44] Also in his edition of Marvazi's Tabai 'al-Hayawan,[45] Minorsky explains that "Taqin is Takka-desha in the region of Sialkot". Such conclusions are at variance with the early history of Takshasila of the Alexandrian/ Scytho-Parthian period, and are also contradicted by Beruni's clarification as well as other references continuously obtained in the historical sources of the Islamic period.

After the above observations and conclusions regarding the location of the central region and the capital of the Takka country, the few available references having a bearing on its history during the early Islamic period till the end of the Ghaznavids, may be brought together so that the picture becomes somewhat clearer.

In the year 712/713 A.D., Muhammad b. Qasim marching northwards from Multan had subjugated Karor. Ishbahar and Brahmapur, i.e. the region roughly extending over the Sind-Sagar and the Chaj doabs to the frontiers of the Takka country and Kashmir. Brahmapur was situated on the Jhelum river and beyond it lay the Takka country. Muhammad b. Qasim appointed Khuraim b. Abdul Malik Tamimi as Governor of Brahmapur[46]. This would show that the south-western Punjab region, roughly up to the Salt range and the Jhelum district, came under Muslim political influence in 712-713 A.D.

It has already been mentioned that the fortunes of the Takka country had started fluctuating from 7th century A.D. when Chuch, the Brahman ruler of Sindh, did not meet any resistance there when he invaded the country.[47] It seemed to have lost most of its territory because from

the 9th till the middle of the 10th century (up to at least 943 A.D when Mas'usdi completed *Muruj al-Dhahb* in which he mentions the Taqan kingdom), it was but a small kingdom in size though rich in resources [48] Probably, this was due to the gradual political domination of it by the more powerful Kashmir. According to the author of Rajtarangini, the Gurjjara King Alakhana was compelled by Raja Sankarvarman of Kashmir to cede Takka-desha to him, and it became a part of Kashmir sometime during 883-901 A.D.[49]

On the other hand, there are references to military expeditions sent against the frontier regions of Kashmir *(including* the Takka region) by the Arab governors of Sindh both during the Umayyad and the Abbasid period, although these *events* and their impact have not yet been fully studied. The first and the earliest expedition was led by Governor 'Amr b. Muslim al- Bahili during the Caliphate of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-Aziz (99-101 A H.717-720 A.D.).

In the 11th century A.D., after Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznah's conquest of the Takka region, referred to as Takeshar, it became an integral part of the Indian Dominion of the Ghaznavid Empire. Takeshar (Taxila) remained the capital of the province/region of the same name. Though Lahore became the Ghaznavid capital of their Indian Dominion, the other provinces/provincial capitals such as Multan, Lohavar and Takeshar also retained their strategic importance militarily, politically and economically. As recorded by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Sunderpal had planned to conquer Lahore, so that Lohavar and Takeshar would also surrender to him.

REFERENCES

1. Such as Takshasila (classical), Takkasila (Pali), Takshacila (Indo-Bacterian coins), Takun/Tukan (Vasudeva's coins), Tsch-kia (Hsuan Tsang), Taqin/Taqan (Early Muslim scholars/geographers), Takiyyah/Takesar (*Fathnama*), Takarshala (Beruni), Takeshar (Beruni and Gardezi).
2. Beglarnama, Persian Text, ed. N A. Baloch, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sind, 1391 A H./197I A D., p. 7.
'درزمانه سالف الکه سند در تصرف مردم پنیه و مردم تاک و مومید بوده است'
3. *Fathnama* (erroneously called 'Chachnama'), ed. N. A. Baloch, Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, Islamic University, Islamabad, 1982- بدهیمن طاکي (pp. 20, 40) and بجیرا طاکي (p. 81).
4. *Ibid.*, pp 20, 40.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 17.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 45-48.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.
12. The Persian text reads بالاتر ازتاکیسر which may also mean 'on a higher mountain range than Takesar'.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
15. *Loz. cit.*
16. *Loz. cit.* The original reading is سوپور i.e. Sopur or Sivapur.
17. Fathnama, p.50.
18. Ibid., p.153.
19. Cunningham, A: *Ancient Geography of India*, (Varanasi), India, 1963, p. 170.

20. Once it was a part of Vasudeva's empire as the three countries of Takka, Zabulistan and Sapadalaksha (i.e. 125 thousand hill encompassing country, or the *Koh-i-Siwalih / the Siwalik* of the Muslim historians extending over the Sub-Himalayan ranges from Sutlej to Ganges) are mentioned on his coins.

21. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India, op. cit.*, p. 176.

22. Ibn Khurzdbih: *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, BGA (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum) Series No. V, p. 3. The second draft was made by the author in 272/885.

23. Sulaiman al-Tajir (the Merchant): *Silsilat al-Tawarikh* (the original Book-I written in 237 A. H., the whole work subsequently edited by Abu Zaid Hasan in about 308 A. H. /920 A. D.), Arabic Text, Paris, 1845, p. 27.

24. Ibn Rustah: *al-I'iliaq al. nafisah*, ed. De Goeje, BGA Series No.VII, p.130.

25. Mas'udi: *Muruj al-Dhahb wa Ma'adin al-jauhar*, Arabic Text, 2nd ed., Dar al-Andalus. Beirut, 1393 A.H./1973 A.D., Vol. I. pp. 188 & 191.

26. *Hudud al- Alam*, tr. & ed. by V. Series; London, 1937, p. 91.

27. *Ibid.*, Minorsky's Commentary, p. 249.

28. Hodivala, S.H: *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay 1939, Vol. I, p. 3.

29. *Hudud al-Alam, op. cit.*, Minorsky's Commentary, p. 249.

30. For Mas'udi's text, see *Muruj al-Dhahb*, Dar al-Andalus publication, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1393 A H./1973, pp. 100, 191, 192 & 246. For translation, see Elliot and Dowson, *History of India Told by Its Own Historians*, London, Vol. I, 1876, pp. 21 &.25.

31. *Tabai al-Hayawan* (the part containing chapters on China, the Turks and India), ed. and tr. by V. Minorsky, the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1942, text p.34, tr. p.47 and Commentary, p.146.

32. *Alberuni's India,* Sachau's Eng. tr., Popular Edition, Regan Paul, London, Vol.I, p. 208.

33. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 8.

34. Gardezi, *Zainul Akhbar,* ed. M. Nazim, Luzac & Co, London, 1928, p. 79. *Zainul Akhbar* was dedicated to the Ghaznavid Sultan Abdul Rashid (441-444 A.H./1049 A.D.).

35. *al-Qanun al-Mas'udi,* Arabic text, Hyderabad Deccan, 1373-1375/ 1954-56, Vol IL, p. 562 مشرعه نهر جندراهه بين ناحيه تا كيشر و لوهاور

36. For instance, Nizamuddin Bakhshi in his *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (composed in 1001/1002 A H.) has mentioned Takeshar and Lohavar in the account of Sultan Mahmud's expedition against Lohkot. but his account is obviously borrowed from the earlier sources such as *Zainul Akhbar.*

37. *Adab al- Harb wa al-Shug'ah,* Persian text. Tehran. 1346 S., p.308.

38. *Ibid;* pp. 252-256. The text in the printed edition (p. 255) reads: 'چندان كه لشكر لوهور را زديم لوهور و تا كيشر ملرا مسلم بود'
To distinguish between the two place names, I have spelt them differently in the translation.

39. *Hudud al-'Alam,* Minorsky's Commentary, p. 249.

40. *Kitab Ma li al-Hind* etc., Arabic text, Hyderabad Deccan, 1377 A.H./1958, p. 257; the original words are 'تكرشل هو ماري كله' *Alberuni's India,* (Sachau's Eng. tr., Popular Edition, Kegan: Paul, London, Vol. 1, p. 302) has "Takshasila, i.e. Marikala".

41. *Vide,* supra fn. 21 & fn. 23.

42. *Rajtarangini,* ed. M.A. Stein, 1900, Vol. I, p. 205, note 150.

43. *Hudud al-'Alam, op. cit.,* p.146.

44. *Tabai' al-Hayawan, op. cit.,* p. 146.

45. Pathnama, op.cit., p.185.

46. Ibid., p.26.

47. Loz. cit.

48. Pathanama fn.32.

49. *Rajarangini,* V/150, quoted by S.H. Hodivala in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History,* Vol. I, p.3.

VIII

THE ADVENT AND IMPACT OF ISLAM IN THE 8TH CENTURY A.D.*

The advent of Islam in the lands of Pakistan took place in three distinct periods: from 23 H./644 to 61 H./680 when Makran and western regions of Balochistan were conquered; from 92 H./711 to 95 H./715 when eastern Balochistan, Sindh, Multan and western Punjab were conquered; and the later eras of the Umayyad and the Abbasid Caliphates when, for an interval, Islamic flag was hoisted over the northern valleys of the Indus and the north-western Gandhara country.

It was not the conquest, as such, which spread and consolidated Islam in the lands of Pakistan, or for that matter anywhere else. 'Acceptance by free will' (the *bay'at*) was the necessary condition to enter Islam, or to become a citizen of an Islamic brotherhood. The impact of Islam on local population depended on the policies followed and the personal examples set by the Muslim commanders and soldiers, and upon the nature of the new socio-economic and political relationships established by the civil administration, and other institutions founded by them.

Such policies, relationships and institutions played a prominent role in the early spread and consolidation of

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Islam, particularly in the more distant lands which had already their own ethnic and cultural roots and religions.

Baladhuri, in *Futuh al-Buldan*, has recorded an authentic but brief account of the Muslim conquest of Sindh. al-Yaqubi in his *Tarikh* has given some useful details, while Ibn al-Athir and other later writers have reproduced from their predecessors. Brief references of an original nature are, however, found in a number of historical, literary and other works. The earliest authority on the subject was undoubtedly Abu al-Hasan Ali b. Muhammad al-Madaini who was the main source of information for Baladhuri. Madaini had written three works on the subject, viz. 'The Conquest of Makran (*Kitab Fath Mukran*), 'The Indian Front' (*Kitab Thaghr al-Hind*) and 'The Governors of Hind' (*Kitab 'Ummal al-Hind*), These books, now lost, were probably extant until the 12th/13th century in the form of a consolidated (abridged?) edition entitled *Futuh al-Hind wa al-Sind*, which was used by Yaqut (1179-1229 A.D.).[1]

The most detailed account of the conquest of Sindh, based on eye-witness accounts and other contemporary record, is contained in what is now known as *Fathnamah* alias Chuchnamah, This work supplements Baladhuri considerably and, despite a number of later interpolations, which can be easily detected, it is based on the original Arabic record which was translated into Persian under the title *Fathnamah-i-Sind* by Ali Kufi in 613 H/1216. There is reason to believe that *Fathnamah* incorporates the substance of at least two of al-Madaini's works, viz. *Kitab Fath Makran and Kitab Thaghr al-Hind*[2]. Besides a detailed account of the conquest of Sindh, it provides additional information on the correspondence between Hajjaj and Commander Muhammad b. al-Qasim,

Muhammad's concilliatory attitude towards the people, his judicious negotiations with the local princes, his policy declarations including the 'Charter of Brahmanabad' granted to the Brahmans, and his exemplary personal conduct, - all of which inspired confidence in the local population paving the way for spread of Islam.

With the fall of the Sassanian Empire (15 H. /635), the Muslim armies had reached its eastern Province of Makran. During the next seven years they advanced further eastward through Makran and, according to one report, reached the more eastern Qandabil Front (present Gandava to the N.E. of Sindh, in the Kachhi district of Balochistan) in 23 H./644, but withdrew after receiving the report of Caliph Umar's death.[3] From 23H./644 till 92H./711, Qandabil either became a refuge for the Arab rebels or was occupied by the Brahman ruler of Sindh.

More northward in central Balochistan, the first expedition under Thagher b. Dha'r had reached the Front of Kaikanan mountains in 38 H./658.[4] Kaikanan or Kikan, the present Kalat country, was then a principality of the Hephathalite Turks, In 42 H./662, Harith b. Murrah achieved victory but perished at the hands of the Kaikanians. Two years later, in 44/664, Commander Muhallab had an encounter with a contingent of 18 Turki horsemen of Kaikanan[5], and later on Commander Abdullah b. Sawwar al-Abdi became victorious but was killed.[6] It was during 45-61H./665-680 that Kaikan was effectively subjugated through successive expeditions led by Sinan, Rashid, Mundhir and Ibn Harri al-Bahili[7].

As early as 15 H./636, Uthman b. Abi al-'As al-Thaqafi, the Governor of Uman, had sent naval expeditions against the coastal ports of Debal (Sind), Bharoach

(Gujarat) and Thana (near Bombay). They achieved victories but did not invade Sind /Hind because of Caliph Umar's strict orders.[8] The Caliphate's policy of restraint continued on until the turn of 90 H./708, when pirates operating from the coastlines of Sindh captured and looted the boats and took Muslim men and women prisoners. Some of them were imprisoned in the port of Debal and others taken directly under the control of the Minister, Siyakar[9]. Hajjaj wrote to Dahar, the ruler of Sindh, but he neither freed the prisoners nor the pirates were punished. First, Hajjaj dispatched small forces, but they were vanquished and their commanders were killed. Then, he sent a powerful army to punish Dahar and annex Sindh and he specially appointed his cousin al-Qasim's son Muhammad, to accomplish this mission.

The choice was not based on blood relationship but on the proved competence of Muhammad who had been entrusted with military command in Persia earlier by about 90/91 H.(709/10) when he was only 15 years old. During a short period of less than two years (709/10-April 711) in Persia, Muhammad had subdued the Kurdish tribes, conquered the province of Sabur and the more distant parts of Jurjan, built a new town of Shiraz, and had proceeded with his plan to conquer Ray.[10] It was in the latter half of 92 A.H. (May-October 711) when he was at Shiraz and about 17 years old, that he was entrusted with the command of Sindh.

The duration of Muhammad's mission to Sindh was about three and a half years, extending from the latter half of 92 A.H. (May-October 711 A.D.) when he marched from Shiraz towards Sindh to Sha'ban 96 A.H. (April, 715 A.D.) when he was imprisoned by his successor. During this period, he conquered Makran and the entire lower

Indus Valley from the port of Debal to Aror (near Rohri), the capital of Dahar, the ruler of Sind, who was defeated and killed on the battlefield. Advancing northwards, Muhammad conquered the province of Multan which extended to the southern boundaries of Kashmir. Returning to Aror, he sent forces against the rulers of Rajputana who concluded peace treaties with him. Kathiawar also submitted, the kingdom of Saurashtra having concluded a peace treaty. Finally he advanced against Gujarat and conquered the capital town of Kaira[11].

Apart from these military gains, Muhnmmad, b. al-Qasim organized the civil administration of Sindh, and Multan; also new settlements were established, towns were garrisoned, and the revenue system was organized.

Muhammad b. al-Qasim had been given a free hand by Hajjaj to push forward his conquests through India to China.[12] Ability of the two contemporary generals, Muhammad b. al-Qasim and the more seasoned Qutaiba b. Muslim, was on trial. Qutaiba had been dispatched to the difficult Khurasan Front and Muhammad to the equally difficult Indian Front. Both were expected ultimately to reach China and, according to Tabari, each one of them had been offered the governorship of China.[13] It all depended upon who reached China first, Such a mandate was stimulating enough for the two generals to push forward their conquests at full speed and at all costs. However, behaviour of the two generals shows a clear contrast in their purposes, plans and policies.

Qutaiba advanced at a tremendous speed, stormed through Khurasan and Transoxiana, conquered Kashghar, and challenged the Emperor of China. With Muhammad, personal prestige was of secondary importance. He was

primarily concerned with his responsibilities and therefore, proceeded with his campaign more cautiously. He moved ahead as a diplomat, winning over the confidence of the local population. Thus, he concluded peace treaties with the rulers of Bailman in Rajputana and of Saurashtra in Kathiawar. Having consolidated his power in almost the whole of North-West India, Muhammad had plans ready to advance into the interior of the Subcontinent. He marched up to the town of Odhapur and dispatched his emissaries with warning to the Maharaja of Kannauj.[14] But circumstances conspired against him and he was forced to quit.

A study of Muhammad's planned campaign in Sindh testifies to his genius as a military commander and as a far-sighted civil administrator. He did not proceed further until administration had been consolidated after each victory. He followed a policy of conciliation towards the vanquished. Even Siyakar, the Minister of Dahar was forgiven and taken into confidence. Though he placed his own energetic Arab officers as administrative heads, he also confirmed the officers of the previous government. On the 10th of Ramadan 93 H.(June, 712 A.D.) Dahar was defeated and killed, and thereafter Brahmanabad the capital of Southern Sindh had fallen, In effect, Muhammad had conquered Sindh. In this hour of victory, the military and administrative policies followed by him are best demonstrated by his dealings at Brahmanabad.

A delegation of four prominent citizens met Muhammad and asked for a 'Firm Covenant' that except for the men in arms a general amnesty shall be granted to the merchants, artisans, agriculturists and the general public. This was agreed and merchants, artisans, agriculturists and the people were granted amnesty. Also

the genuine Brahman priests, with shaven heads and beards, were all forgiven. From amongst the population, those who remained outside the fold of Islam were to pay a fixed tribute and those who accepted Islam were exempted. The tribute was fixed according to the rank and status in three categories: 48 dirhams for the higher class, 24 dirhams for the middle class, and 12 dirhams for the lower class. No property was confiscated. A census was taken of merchants, artisans and agriculturists under Brahmanabad, and they numbered ten thousand. Only capitation tax of 12 dirhams was fixed on them because Muhammad b. al-Qasim ruled that they had suffered loss of property[15].

He showed proper respect to the Brahmans, ensured their security and confirmed every one to the post he had held before. Then he called them to a conference and addressed them as under:

> Having full confidence in your integrity and honesty, you are required to go out in the country and meet the people and make recommendations regarding their welfare. The responsibility for the well-being of the country is being entrusted to you.[16]

As a result, the representatives of the people from the urban and the rural areas came together and had an audience with Muhammad b. al-Qasim regarding the payment of taxes and the role of the Brahman officers. He directed the Brahman officers as under:

> You shall preserve friendship between the people and the government; if anything is to be divided into shares, you shall do so in equal measure; you shall fix revenue accordance with the paying capacity of each individual; you must remain united among yourselves and be not perplexed lest the administration of the country be spoiled.[17]

Then he addressed the men who had come as follows:

> Be happy from all points of view. Do not entertain any anxiety, because you shall not be pressed for any thing. I am not going to compel you to give any written guarantees. Pay the fixed tribute of your own accord. Your affairs will receive special consideration, disregarding any of your little failings. If any of you have a representation to make let it be done openly, so that it is duly heard and adequately answered, and the wish of each one is gratified.[18]

As a result of the victory by the Muslims and the change of Government, offerings were being made to the temples and the Brahmans. They made a representation that since they had given their allegiance, they should be granted the right of worship and to maintain the temples, and receive offerings and charities as before. Muhammad accepted their representation and forwarded it to Hajjaj who agreed that since they had shown submission, and became the *dhimmies*, they should be granted the right of worship and to follow their own religion. His directive was received when Muhammad b al-Qasim had left the city of Brahmanabad and encamped further off in the suburbs. There he summoned the chiefs and headmen of the Brahmans and announced the grant of the following charter of freedom of worship, freedom of business, freedom to follow one's own religion and observe ones own festivals.

CHARTER OF BRAHMANABAD

YOU MAY FEEL FREE TO BUILD TEMPLES TO YOUR GODS. YOU MAY CARRY ON COMMERCE AND TRANSACTIONS WITH MUSLIMS. CONSIDER YOURSELVES FULLY SECURE. WORK FOR YOUR OWN WELFARE. BE CHARITABLE AND KIND TO THE BRAHMANS AND THE DESTITUTE. OBSERVE YOUR FESTIVALS AND FOLLOW YOUR CUSTOM LIKE YOUR FATHERS AND FORE-FATHERS, CONTINUE ON YOUR OFFERINGS TO THE BRAHMANS AS BEFORE. AND ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT CUSTOM, OUT OF EVERY 100 DIRHAMS OF REVENUE, TAKE OUT THREE DIRHAMS TO PAY WHAT MAY BE DUE TO THE BRAHMANS AND DEPOSIT THE REMAINDER IN THE PUBLIC TREASURY TO BE ACCOUNTED FOR BY THE STAFF AND THE DEPUTY. THOSE OF YOU WHO ARE OFFICERS AND ADMINISTRATORS WILL RECEIVE FIXED SALARIES.[19]

The Charter granted shows that Muhammad b. al-Qasim was primarily concerned with the welfare of the people. He built up cordial relations and mutual confidence between the people and the new Government, by laying the foundations of the new administration on principles of conciliation and justice. As a result, goodwill of the people towards him advanced ahead of him, and at each new battle the local people invariably supported him. His last conquest was of Kaira, the capital of Gujarat. The sequence of events shows that he could not have remained there for long, and yet during his short stay at this capital of his vanquished but powerful adversary Rao Duhar,[20] or Rao Druhar[21], Muhammad b. al-Qasim had endeared himself to the people to such an extent that when he was subsequently removed from Sindh "the people of Hind wept for him"[22], and those of Kaira, in particular, were so much grieved that "they painted the portraits of Muhammad"[23] as a tribute to his memory.

Participation in Music Festival

While Muhammad was marching through northern Sindh heading towards Aror, the capital of Dahar, he turned on his way to the settlements of the Samma community. The people started beating drums and playing upon flutes, and they came out dancing to welcome Muhammad. Thereupon, he inquired about this resounding music with which the Samma community had come to meet him. He was informed that it was customary for them to greet the new ruler with this imposing ceremony. Khuraim b. 'Amr, one of the lieutenants of Muhammod b. al-Qasim,[24] was so much impressed by this reception that he thought as if some very powerful enemy had surrendered. So, stepping forward, he began to address in right earnest:

'It becomes obligatory upon us to praise Allah and remember Him that by His Grace He made these people surrender to us and thus our government has been consolidated in this country'.

Khuraim was an intelligent man and a diplomat but here he had missed the whole perspective. The Sammas were good country folk and they were only too glad to pay their homage. Muhammad b. al-Qasim had a hearty laugh at Khuraim's speech and replied: "Well, their chieftainship is now being assigned to you"! He then asked the Samma players to play before Khuraim, whereupon Khuraim was obliged to reward them with twenty golden dinars.[25]

Visit to the Temple

Muhammad b. al-Qsim visited the temple in the capital city of Aror. Accompanied by the priest, he went inside and saw the idol seated on a horse. On its fingers were golden rings studded with jewels. Quietly Muhammad took off a ring from one of the hands. When he began to converse with the keeper of he temple about the deity, the man observed one ring missing and said: 'But he had two rings, and one is missing'! Muhammad b. al-Qasim replied: "But he is your god, can't he tell you who has taken away the ring?" The priest had no reply and simply bowed down his head, whereupon Muhammad b. al-Qasim returned the ring to him so that it might be put back on the diety's finger.[26]

Institutions Founded

Mosque was the central institution of Islam, and Muhammad b. al-Qasim founded mosques in all the important towns and cities, such as the port of Debal, Nerun, Sewistan, the capital city of Aror, and Multan.[27] After the conquest of Sewistan, Muhammad sent

a letter to Hajjaj informing him that everywhere mosques and pulpits had been founded and the Prayer call and the Khutba were established.[28] Following the conquest of Multan, an official communication was also received from Hajjaj directing, among others, that "in every permanent village, town and city, mosques and pulpits be built, and the Friday Khutba be recited and coins struck in the name of the Caliph'.[29]

Muhammad b. a-Qasim had followed this policy long before this directive was received. Baladhuri records that he founded the Mosque at the port town of Debal. This was the first congregational mosque founded by the turn of 92 H. on the soil of a new sub-continent. The foundations of this mosque were brought to light in the course of archaeological excavations at Bhanbhore (the site of Debal) along with an inscription in Kufic character commemorating the building, built later in the year 109 or 209 of Hijra. A part of the arch of the main gate of the congregational mosque of Aror which was rebuilt during the Moghul period (16th /17th century) still stands on the original site.

Muhammad b. al-Qsim saw to it that the mosques were founded and that they flourished; he, therefore, appointed *Imams* and *Qadis*. *Fathnamah* preserves the information that he had appointed *Imam* at the mosque of Nerun; also at the mosque of the capital city of Aror he had appointed Musa b. Ya'qub (b.Tai b. Muhammad b. Musa b. Shaiban b. Uthman) al-Thaqafi whom he entrusted the functions of *imamah* and *qada*.[30]

Foundation of new settlements and townships provided facilities for growth and development of community life and also became centres for education. Muhammad b. al-

Qasim was interested in establishing new townships. He had already founded a new township of Shiraz when he was in Fars (Persia). After the victory at Debal, he planned and demarcated a separate quarter for the Muslim community and settled four thousand of them there.[31] Similarly, he settled Muslim population at Nerun, Brahmanabad, Sehban (Sehwan), Aror and Multan.

Later, the new capital city of Mansurah which was founded during 730-735 A.D[32] soon developed into a centre of higher learning and research. It was at Mansurah that the Sanskrit works were studied and translated some three decades before the founding of Baghdad (762). The two important astronomical works of Brahamagupta (an astronomer of the city of Bhilmal in the neighbouring Gurjara country to the S.E. of Sindh, born in 598 and died in the last quarter of the 7th century), viz. *Karana Khanda Khadyaka* and *Brahama Sphute Siddhanta*, were the first to be translated into Arabic, most probably by Ibrahim b. Habib al-Fazari and his Sindhian associates. The former, translated in the year 109 of the Sindhian Calendar (117 A.H./735 A.D.), became widely known as 'Alarkand'; and the latter translated thereafter (735-754 A.D.) was called 'Sindhind'.[33] The port town of Debal became a strong centre for the study of Hadith and produced some renowned traditionists. Abu Jafar of Debal was the first to compile the letters of the Prophet (peace be upon him) into his work entitled *Makatib al-Mursalin*.

REFERENCES

1. cf, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, under (Multan). The author's name, written as al-Madini (المديني), should be al-Madaini (المدائني).
2. The conclusion reached by the writer on the basis of the reports originating from al-Madaini as given in *Fathnamah* and other earlier sources (Vide *Fathnamah-i-Sind*, Sindhi translation, published by Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, Pakistan, 1954, Introduction).

3. According to Fathnamah (Persian Text, Hyderabad Deccan, 1939, p.73), the Arab armies "were fighting in Makran and Qandabil" when Caliph Umar died.
4. Fathnamah, Persian text, pp.77-78.
5. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, De Goeje Ed., Leiden 1866, p.432; Fathnamah, Persian text, p.79.
6. Baladhuri, Futuh, p.433.
7. Baladhuri, Futuh, pp.432-33 & *Fathnamah*, pp.77-83.
8. Baladhuri, Futuh, pp.433-34.
9. Fathnamah, pp.199 & 108-110.
10. For a detailed discussion, see the writer's article "Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim: A Study of His Family Background & Personality", Quarterly *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad Deccan), Vol.XXVII, No.4, October, 1953.
11. The details are recounted both in Baladhuri's Futuh al-Buldan and Fathnamah.
12. Fathnamah, pp.216-17.
13. Tabari, Tarikh (De Goege Ed.) Vol. I, p.889. Also see *Fathnamah*, pp.216-17, although the text is somewhat confused.
14. *Fathnamah*, p. 242.
15. Ibid, pp.207-209.
16. Ibid, p.210.
17. Ibid, p.211.
18. Ibid, p.212.
19. Ibid, pp.213-214.
20. So Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p.440 and Ibn al-Athir, IV/26.
21. Such is the reading in *Fathnamah* (pp.218 & 228-233).
22. Baladhuri: *Futuh*, p.440 and Ibn al-Athir IV/260.
23. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p.440.
24. cf. *Fathnamah*, p.102.

25. Ibid, pp.220-21.
26. Ibid, p.226.
27. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp.437,439; *Fathnamah*, pp.118,239.
28. *Fathnamah*, p.126.
29. Ibid, p.240.
30. Ibid, pp.118 &235.
31. Baladhuri (*Futuh*, p.437) significantly uses the term (اختط) i.e. drew up the site plan.

    واختط محمد للمسلمين بها و بني مسجدا وانزلها اربعه آ لاف

32. The city was founded during the Caliphate of Hisham and under the Governorship of al-Hakam b. 'Awanah al-Kalbi (112-124 A.H./ 730-742), by Commander 'Amr (the son of the late Muhammad b. al-Qasim) to commemorate the fresh victories achieved (Baladhuri, Futuh al-Buldan, ed De Goeje, p.444). A copper coin struck in Mansurah in the year 116 H.734-35, shows that the city had become a mint centre in734-35. (For the coin preserved in the Br.Museum, see John Walker: *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post Reform Umaiyad Coins*, Vol. II, 986, No.927, 9.281). The imposing ruins of this huge city of baked bricks stand prominent 7 miles S.E. of Shahdadpur, District Sanghar, Sindh, Pakistan.
33. For detailed discussion vide '*Ghurrat al-Zijat or Karana Tilaka*' of Al-Beruni (ed. N.A. Baloch), published by the Institute of Sindhology, University of Sindh, Pakistan, 1973, Introduction, pp.19-23.

IX

FAILURE OF FATIMID / DRUZI DA'WA IN SINDH AS REFLECTED IN THE CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENT 'RISALAT AL-HIND'.*

The document 'Risalat al-Hind', or 'Letter of India', is not a new discovery. For long, it has been known to the scholars concerned with the early eras of the Indo-Muslim history. The French orientalist, Silvertre de Sacy, used it in his study of the Druze religion in 19th century.[1]

Long back, I came accross a brief reference to De Sacy's study of 'Risalat al-Hind' in Elliot-&-Dowson's History of India. As no quotation was given from the original Arabic text, I searched for it in the manuscript record of Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, and found it in a compendium of twelve letters, in which 'Risalat al-Hind' is the sixth one. Each letter carries a title, the one preceding *'Risalat al-Hind'* being 'Risalat al-Yaman'.[2]

Writer of the Letter

To assess the importance of 'Risalat al-Hind', it is necessary to ascertain the status and authority of the writer of this 'Letter', who styles himself as 'Al-Muqtana'.[3] His real name was Abu'l Hasan Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Tai al-Samuki. In Risalat al-Hind, A1-Muqtana calls himself a

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slave of Waliu al-Zaman (i.e.Hamza), the Chief of Manifestation And Absence of Proof, i.e. al-Hakim. Hamza b. Ali b. Ahmad was Prime Minister to Al-Hakim Bi-Amrillah (386-411 A.H./996-1021 A.D.), during the closing years of his reign. He claimed himself to be *'Al-Aql'* (or *Al-Aql al-Kull*) and 'Qa'im al-Zaman' (Master of Time) in the new doctrinal hierarchy. He also declared himself as *Hadi al-Mustajibin wa-Imam al-Muwahhidin*. In his writings, Hamza disputes the belief of those who believed that the divinity had passed from al-Hakim to his son Ali (al-Zahir)[4].

During the ascendancy of Hamza, the appointment of Muqtana was issued (not 'made') by Mustafa, the third dignitary (in the hierarchy), to whom he was subordinated. This was on 13 Sha'ban, 410 A.H./14 Dec.1019 A.D[5].

Thereafter Muqtana became the 'Fifth Minister'. He was also designated as the 'Left Wing'. The jurisdiction of his mission extended to the East as far as Multan and frontiers of India, and to the West as far as Constantinople. After the demise of Hamza, Muqtana, entitling himself as 'Bahauddin', became the sole exponent of Hamza's doctrine.

Thus, while Hamza was the founder of the Druze Religion, Bahauddin Muqtana became the first exponent of the Druze doctrine[6].

By the closing years of Hakim's reign (beginning of the 5th/11th century), the Fatimid Da'wa had lost its inner strength and provided fertile ground for counter developments.

Muqtana came into lime light in the 3rd year of Hamza in 411., and to validiate his authority in the heirarchy he dated his letters accordingly. He uses the dates of two

calendars, one of Hamza and the other of Hakim (the Absence). In the compendium of his letters, more letters are dated by the Calendar of Hamza. The 'Risalat al-Hind' was written by him in the 17th year of Hamza, corresponding to 425 A.H. The last (12th) letter in the compendium is dated month of Safar of the 22nd year of the Calendar of 'Qaim al-Haq' (Hamza) which equates with 430 A.H.

The Historical Context of Muqtana's Letters

To grasp the contents and the context of Muqtana's Letter, the historical perspective of the contemporary events may be recounted in some detail.

The Fatimid propaganda was initiated in Sindh and Hind from Yemen in A.H.270 (883, A.D.) but it did not gain ground due to the powerful Habbari dynasty ruling in Mansurah in Sindh, with their allegiance to the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad. It was much later, by the middle of the 4th /10th century, that the propaganda agent (*da'i*) Jalam b. Shayban of the Fatimid Caliph Muizz (341-365 A.H / 952-975 A.D.) succeeded in subverting the power base of the Banu Samah Arab Amirs of Multan of the Banu Munabbih dynasty who owed allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad. On receiving an encouraging letter with 'five mission flags' from Muizz, Jalam compelled the Banu Samah Amir of Multan to read the Friday *khutba* in the name of the Fatimid Caliph. By about 372-375 A.H., when pro-Fatimid forces had dominated, Jalam attacked, defeated and killed the Banu Samah Amir of Multan and established himself to rule.

It is not known how long Jalam governed Multan, but there being no further mention of him in any record subsequently, either he had soon died or was eliminated by

a rival (*da'i*) from amongst those elements of local extraction whom Jalam had converted. 'Shaykh' Hamid who was probably heading the other faction, and believed in tolerance and compromise, succeeded in gaining the confidence of Amir Sabuktigin of Ghazna (977-997), who left him to rule in Multan. Later on, Dawud b. Nasr b. Hamid (a grandson?) aligned himself with Anandpal the ruler of Waihand against Sultan Mahmud who then stormed Multan in 398/1006. Daud made good his escape to 'an island in the Indus' (Bakhar in Sindh). The Sultan appointed Sukhpal as his governor of Multan and hurried back to Khurasan. Thereupon; Da'ud returned to Multan and wrested the fort from Sukhpal. As disturbances flared up again, Sultan Mahmud attacked Multan second time in 401 A.H. (1010 A.D.), captured Daud and imprisoned him in Afghanistan. These two expeditions of Sultan Mahmud broke the power of the pro-Fatimid elements in Multan who remained underground thereafter fermenting rebellions occasionally.

Back in Cairo, with the disappearance of Hakim in 408/1017, the power base of Fatimid propaganda was shaken, and influence of their agents in the distant Multan also declined. Desparate attempts were, however, made by Hakim's partisans of the Druze faction founded by Hamza (408/1017), through their idealogue Muqtana Baha'uddin, to re-invigorate the faltering pro-Fatimid elements abroad. After Sultan Mahmud's death (421/1030), Muqtana found it opportune to revive contacts in Multan, and in 425/1034 he addressed this Letter to the local chief 'Ibn Soomar Rajbal' of the house of Abu al-Futuh Daud.

But Ibn Soomar's faction had already dissociated from the Fatimid elements and gained the confidence of Sultan Mas'ud so that Younger Daud (al-Asghar) was granted

pardon and freed from the prison on Ibn Soomar's recommendation. In his letter, Muqtana praises Ibn Soomar for this, and reminds him of the fidelity of his elders, Da'ud Al-Akbar and others, and warns him not to be misled, urging him to rise and play an active role. Ibn Soomar's response is not on record, but the heterogeneous elements led by Daud the Younger' remained active underground and rose in open rebellion when they found the local administration weak. Thus, on the death of Sultan Mas'ud in 432/1040, they succeeded for a while in capturing the fort of Multan but fled before the forces despatched by Sultan Maudud. The Multanians surrendered the fort and read the khutba in the name of the Abbasid Caliphs, Amir al-Mominin Qadir Billah and Sultan Maudud.

The Addressees in Multan

The Letter is addressed directly to 'Ibn Soomar Rajbal' in which, besides him, eleven other persons are named as under:

1. Soomar, father of (2).
2. Ibn Soomar Rajbal, who is mentioned as successor to (3). 'Rajbal' is an arabicised pronunciation of 'Rajpal'.
3. Buthro, the elder or guide of (2), whose given name was Dalhala.
4. Abaya/Ubaya, grandfather of (1), a scion of the old family. He was next in rank to (5).
5. Daud al-Akbar, whose given name was Jaidha. He was the eldest of his father's children, the other brothers being 6-8 (below).

6-8 Harita, Aba Ali and Kisa.

9. Daud al-Asghar, the junior Daud, who was a contemporary of (2) who is urged to cultivate Daud as he had been set free.

10. Mas'ud, the Sultan, who had released Dawud al-Asghar from jail.

11. Abdullah, a nephew of (9).

12. Abdullah b. Layth (or Ibn Layth), a contemporary of (2) who "had dissented from the faith of his elders and predecessors" (the partisans of the Fatimids). Ibn Soomar and others are asked to shun him, not to listen to him.

It is obvious that some of these persons had their known public names and also they were given other code names for the secret *da'wa* work.[7] Three names are historically authentic,-viz. senior Daud, junior Daud and Masud the Sultan of Ghazna (421-432 A.H./1030-1040 A.D.) Muqtana's observation that Daud al-Asghar has been set free by (Sultan) Masu'd, is also historically correct. It further adds to our knowledge that he was set free on the recommendation of Ibn Soomar Rajpal.

The names of all the leading figures (Daud al-Akbar, Daud al-Asghar, Abdullah and Ibn Layth) are of Arab origin. The name of Rajpal is also conspicuous by its Arab *kunya* of Ibn Soomar'. It may be reasonable to presume that the Pro-Fatimid faction in Multan was from the local Arab community, probably the ruling Quraishite Amirs of the Banu Munabbih dynasty.

By his Letter, Muqtana intended to influence the once Pro-Fatimid faction in Multan in order to win them over to the new Druzian doctrine of Hamza and also to motivate them to rise to power. He reminds Ibn Soomar Rajpal of the loyalty of his forefathers and persuades him to accept the new doctrine and rise to the occasion. But the circumstances had

changed and the people had already eschewed the sectarian Fatimid Da'wa and assimilated themselves into the universal Islamic brotherhood.

It is important to note that in the light of this contemporary Letter, Ibn Soomar Rajpal emerges as a towering personality of the time. Muqtana addresses him as "the rightly guided Shaykh, bountiful and truthful in words and deed, saintly and wise, pious and excellent divinely, and the learned noble Shaykh". With these qualities of character, he also wielded immense political influence with Sultan Mas'ud who had released Dawud from jail on his recommendation.

The fact that there is no response from Ibn Soomar Rajbal on record and that after these events he is no more traceable in the annals of Multan, leads to the presumption that he had left Multan. Here there is room for plausible reasoning verging on speculation.

In the tradition of Sindh as well as in the historical record, the name Soomar/Soomara has been linked with the progenitor of the Soomara community, believed to be the Arab Muslims who had come with Muhammad b. al-Qasim at the time of conquest. Being of the Arab stock, the Soomara leaders wielded influence in the Arab Amirates of Mansurah and Multan. Ibn Soomar Rajpal and his party had played an important role in the affairs of Multan, but now he shifted to Sindh to organize his community to govern Sindh. Some historical references support this view.

According to the eminent historian Mir Ma'sum, it was in the reign of Sultan Abdul Rashid of Ghazna (444 A.H./ 1025 A.D.) that the Soomaras assembled at Tharee (taluka Matli of the present Badin District) and raised their chief, Soomara (سومره) by name, to be their ruler in

Sindh.[8] According to the author of Muntakhab al-Tawarikh, this took place in 445 A.H.[9]

It was in the year 425 A.H. that Muqtana wrote his Letter to Ibn Soomar Rajpal. He was then in Multan. Twenty years later, in 445 A.H., his people, assembled at Tharee and made their chief 'Soomara' the ruler of Sindh. Most probably this 'Soomara' was the son of Rajpal, so named after his grandfather 'Soomar'. Rajpal was now grand old man, the noble chief, who took his permanent abode in the community's head quarters of the city of Janhan (Janani of Ibn Battutah), and he died there. There is an old graveyard known as 'Maqam of saint Rajpal' (on the site of old Janhan) near the present village of Janhan, to the N.E. of Naokot, district Tharparkar.

Given below is translation of Risalat al-Hind[10] followed by the original text in Arabic.

'Letter of India' called Commemoration and Perfection Addressed to the Rightly Guided and Bountiful Shaykh.

I rely on the Master ('al-Hakim') who is the deity of truth, who is adjudicator and who is revered in the languages of all peoples:

* From the eloquent servant Muqtana, the sincere harbinger of good news, the slave of Waliu al-Zaman (Master of Time), the master of revelation and secrecy of crucial test al-Qa'im (Hamza) for guiding the truthful followers, and the one who by his convincing argument drives towards divine unity by treading the luminous path.

* To the rightly guided Shaykh who is a shelter for 'unitarians', who is bountiful and who is truthful in words and deeds, Ibn Soomar Rajpal (ابن سومر راجبال).

Peace and salutation on you and on the party of pious persons at your end - the believers in divine unity in Hind and Hindastan (sic) eagerly watchful of raising the banner of truth and the appearance of 'Qa'im al-Zaman' dedicating their lives in defending against the untruthful and the subversive religion of Abdullah Ibn Layth who seceded from his pious unitarian forefathers and who distinguished himself in opposing with stupidity the mission of the 'Master', the god of universe.

Also, all praise is due to the Master who is unique in point of divine manifestation, who is Lord rising above quality and quantity by virtue of his sanctity, unraveled by wisdom and unpredictable even when he is in existence, as nothingness is contrary to existence and leads to denial, negation and apostasy. May the Lord, the divine Hakim who is above all, i.e. wives and children, who is superior to shape and likeness, who is beyond the concept of nascent and who is beyond the reach of description in point of eternity and infiniteness, who appointed his 'Valiu' Qa'im al-Haq as beacon of light for unraveling divine unity (توحيد) and Hadi for guiding the desirous towards divine glory (تنزيه) and incorporated existence (تجريد) and protecting the sincere against apostasy and blind faith.

May the blessings of the Lord be on those who look at the firmament - full of the signs of Zodiac - of realities and who rise to the high assembly and climb the ascent of truth and are in unison with the goal of creation and ransack all the stages of salutation as far as glory and splendour are concerned and grasp the secret of that oneness and attain the ultimate number by insight and renounce adversaries and enemies for the sake of 'Valiu'.

Oh, the saintly successor of Buthro (بثرو) - who in fact is Dalhala (دلهلا) – of the first real brave persons and scions of the holy and glorious people of trust and confidence - I mean Ubaya (ابايا), your grandfather who flourished after the Senior Daud (داوود الاكبر) who in truth was Jaidha (جَيذا) the eldest of the children, and Harita (هريطه), Aba Ali (ابا علي) and Kisa (كيسا) the model persons! Prepare Oh Rajpal the people who are believers in divine unity, and cultivate Dawud the Junior (داوود الاصغر) because Mas'ud has set him free from the prison and favours to establish your hold on his (Dawud Junior's) nephew 'Abdullah and all the people of Multan'. And let the people of piety who believe in divine unity and have firm faith, be marked out from the people of impiety, opposition, wickedness and disobedience.

You cannot succeed in your aim except by obeying the Lord of Truth (ولي الحق) who rejects all other faiths. Towards his blessings, bow in obeisance and be away from errors and faults.

Rise up Oh wise and rightly guided dignitary, and wake them up as the sanctity of the glorious Lord Hakim has been established and all that which was promised has become manifest in the universe; all that your forerunners were wishing, has come into actual existence from its potential stage and this was what all the truthful people were eagerly looking for.

Therefore, respond to the call of 'da'i al-Haq' (Muqtana) who invites you to truths since his signs have become manifest and his arguments have spread all round. Do not be misled by the nonsensical propaganda and adverse attitude of the disappointed Ibn al-Layth who has dissented from the faith of his elders and predecessors and who has

taken a position on the brink of hell after damming himself in the clothes of disgrace and absurd attitude.

Then, wake him up, Oh wise and excellent divinely assisted man, and establish proof against him on account of what has reached you. The lowlands and the uplands on the surface of the earth have been shaken and the winds are at times blowing and are at standstill at other times. Tell his followers who form a group of impiety, 'How long! How long! Oh deaf and dumb creatures! The tombs have thrown out their contents and all that was (hidden) in the minds, has been achieved: Yet you are exulting in the darkness of your ignorance and you are revolting in the fold of your impiety and not keeping away from the dreadful beliefs. Do you think, you are let loose! Tie upon your thoughts! You have glutted over doubts, misbeliefs and apostasy and you have mustered strong under faults and obstinacy. Your minds have been polluted with the minds of the disgraced, i.e. Abdullah, in respect of deformity and your souls have been corrupted by his soul in impiety on account of denouncing the divinity. Your souls have disoccured divinity by fearing to be a servant and you have gone away from the middle one the centre of praise and excellence. You have aligned yourself on the two wrong sides of the abode of opposition and meanness on account of perversion of origin from 'Ibda' (ابداع) and on account of deviations from truth due to wickedness, doubt and retrograde step. Your souls are ready for doing extreme evil by being behind disease of fear and remorse. They are unable to realize the forms of rehinal things. They are reluctant to accept the gist of ideas and knowledge of Causes. They are denying the divinity of the Lord, Hakim, the powerful. They are ungrateful to the bounties of the Master, who is the upholder of truth in the foregoing ages and whom Allah has made the expunger of the devilish law and the abolisher

and destroyer of falsehood which was woven round the people. He is the loosener of knots of disbelief which they had established and the denouncer of the magic spell which they had blown into their ears and the demolisher of the edifice of lie based on misbeliefs and the subjugator of all views and statements by means of Tauhid.

Oh wise and pious, wake up your people and apprise them by means of manifest conviction so that they may find out Qa'im al-Haq who is the Hadi (i.e.Hamza) towards the right path. Verily the heralder of the Day of Judgment has blown up his bugle and the branches of the plant of Imamat have begun to flourish on account of freshness. Sorrow has seized the minds of the obstinate and the remorseful. The people of elevated places (اعراف), who are witnesses of religion and leaders of nations, have as is wont with them responded to the call of truth. They have raised their structures of Tauhid on every tower. Ties of blood relationship have been severed on account of faith. Followers of the devil doomed to misery and destruction on account of impiety and on account of wicked deeds and siding with the imposter, have been marked out by their impiety and obduracy. They have been shunned from the true Messiah (i.e. Hamza), the Master of persons and property, on account of anthema and filth.

As it were, the ideal character and the veritible truth has dawned with all great hopes and promises and it has manifested itself with all its secrecy. We are the persons who hold fast to the 'Missiah Imam al-Zaman' (i.e. Hamza) and we are immune from the fear of the day which is demarcated out of the days (of judgment) and which is above all description and dispute. It is a day when minds and eyes shall be rewarded and the Lord Hakim shall appear before the humanity by his ideal character. It is a

day when wits and souls will lose their functioning. The sanctified Lord Hakim shall be singled out by his glory with the curtains of the holy angels and the troops of the glorious and winged cherubiens, and Lord Hakim the Imam of all peoples shall lead them in the ages and circles of time. All vertical and horizontal sides of space have bowed before him and placed their necks and cheeks on the ground in supplication and all creatures have acknowledged his overlordship. All essence of created things has accepted servitude and subordination of the holy Lord. The bugler has sounded the call "who is the Lord today?" He will then entrust his affair to Hakim who is above sleep and slumber. Balances will be set up for judging commodities and actions. All ties of lie and falsehood will be cut off. All hopes of pretenders will vanish. Hidden blemishes will be made manifest. The true Messiah (i.e. Hamza) will reward every one according to his deeds. The truthful persons will succeed and the grumblers will feel sorry for what they have done against the people of truthfulness.

Therefore, Oh noble Shaykh, come forward with your ideas and declare what was kept secret, and call the people of divine unity, truthfulness and conviction near you and search the principles of sanctity and faith. That which was so far potential, has become actual. The truth has dawned and the people have been classified. Days of sloth have come to a close and it has become incumbent for all seekers of truth to hasten and run towards sanctity. Oh learned Shaykh, produce at once what you were even procrastinating and disclose what you were so far hiding. Nothing more is the duty of a messenger than to convey the message clearly. Peace and salutation be on you and on all who are in your charge, viz. all believers in divine unity.

All praises are due to the living Lord Hakim and thanks are due to his 'Valiu' Imam al-Hadi al-Qa'im (i.e.Hamza), the guide and upholder of the truth.

This was written in the seventeenth year of the advent of 'Qa'im al-Din' (i.e. Hamza), the avenger of the infidels, the unjust, the apostates and disbelievers, by means of the sword of our Lord Hakim.

The Letter of India comes to the end by the grace of the Lord.

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3. De Sacy has written about Al-Muqtana in detail (Vol.II, pp.297-384), and what follows is mainly based on his record.
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7. Some given names, though improvised to be of local extraction, are fictitious. I have tried to speculate but without any satisfactory identification of them in Sindhi/Siraiki terminology.

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10. The guidance received from the author's late teacher, Prof. Y. S. Taherally of Bahauddin College Junagadha, in translating the Letter's text (sine rhetoric) is acknowledged.

[The original Arabic text of 'Risalat al-Hind' follows].

APPENDIX

رسالة الهند

الموسومة بالتذكار والكمال الى الشيخ الرشيد المسدد المفضال
توكلت على المولى الاله الشرق الحاكم بالحق المعبود بلغات
جميع الخلق من العبد المقتني التصبيح والبشير النصيح المملوك
لولي الزمان صاحب الكشف وغيبة الامتحان القايم لهداية شيعة
التسديق والمنهج ببرهانه الى التوحيد اوضح طريق الى الشيخ
الرشيد كهف الموحدين المسدد المفضال الحكيم المويد الموفق
بالاقوال والافعال ابن سومر راجبال السلام عليك وعلى
حزب الهداية قبلك الموحدين ببلد الهند وهندستان
المرتقبين لرفع راية الحق وظهور قايم الزمان الباذلين
بهجمهم في كفاح اهل الباطل وابالسة الاديان كعبد
الله ابن الليث القاطع لحبايل اسلافه الاطهار الموحدين المباين
الشفه والخلاف لامر المولى اله العالمين اما بعد فالحمد
لمولى الاله المنفرد بمعنى الظهورات الالهية الحاكم المقدس
بالاهوته من حيث هو عن المايية والكمية المنزه بعد

رجوده عما تحوط به العقول وينقطع بالالفاظ المنطيقية اذ
العدم مضاد للوجود وسبيل يستدرج الى الانكار والتعطيل
والجحود فتعالى المولى الاله الحاكم الذي تجلل عن الازواج والاوتاد
وتناظم عن الاشكال والانداد وتنزه بوجوده عن موهمات
العدم وتقدس عن الانحصار تحت عبارة الالفاظ بمعنى الازلية
والقدم الذي جعل وليه قايم الحق منارا لكشف التوحيد
وهاديا لمن استضا بانوار حكمته الى التنزيه والتجريد
وعاصما لمن اخلص ببرهانه عن التحليد والتقليد ورحمة
المولى وبركاته على من نظر الى سماء الحقايق ذات
البروج وسمى بنظره الى الملا الرفيع وسدق فيه سادق
العروج واتحد بغاية الابداع وتحقق منازل حدود التجاه
في الشرف والعلو والارتفاع وعرف كنه ذلك الاتحاد
وبلغ ببصيرته نهاية الاعداد وبرى الى وليه من نجس المعاندين
والاضداد ايها الدين الخلف لبشر وهود لهلا بالحقية لها
اول الانجاد وعقيب صفوة اصحاب الوديعة الاطهار الامجاد

اعني بالحقيقة ابا باجتك بعد داوود الاكبر وهو جيدا اكبر
الاولاد وهريطه وابا علي وكيسا نهاية الافراد نبيه قومك
الموحدين ايها المنضم راجبال وداوي داوود الاصغر فقد
اطلقه المسعود من الحبس والاعتقال لقيام حجتك علي ابن اخيه
عبد الله وجميع اهل المولتان وليتميز اهل التقديس والتوحيد
والايقان من حزب الضلال والخلاف والفسوق والطغيان فما
التوفيق بك ولك فيما اتممته الا بالطاعه لولي الحق وناسخ الاديان
فالي رحمته اضرع من الزلل والفتور في العفو والصفح والغفران
ثم ايها الدين الحكيم المسدد وايقظهم فقد شهر التقديس للولي
الحاكم المنزه الموحد وفشا في الافاق ما كنتم به توعدون
وظهر من القوة الي الفعل ما كان اسلافكم له يعتقدون وكافة
اهل الحقايق لوروده منتظرون فاجيبوا داعي الحق فقد ظهرت
علاماته وانتشرت في الافاق براهينه وآياته ولا تغتروا
بزخرف ابن الليث الخايب وخلافه فهو المنسلخ من دين ابايه
واسلافه الواقف علي شفا جرف هاوية الجحيم الملتحف بالعار

الفاضح والخلق الزميم فايقظه ايها الحكيم الموفق الفاضل
وأتم الحجة عليه بما وصل اليك وهو واصل فوهاد الارض
واركانها قد تزعزعت للظهور وارياحه تتراجع بين الهبوب
والفتور وقل لاشياعه حزب الضلال فالي متي
ايها الصم البكم فقد بعثرت القبور وحصل ما في القلوب
والصدور وانتم في ظلم جهالتكم تمرحون وفي غيهب ضلالتكم
تتمردون وعن موبقات العقايد لا تنزجرون اتظنون انكم
مهملون ساءما تظنون تظافرتم علي الشك والشرك والالحاد
وتضافيتم علي التقصير والبلس والعناد وقد اختطلت بطبايع
الخايب طبايعكم اعني عبد الله في الموسوحية وتمازجت ارواحكم
بروحه في التجسس بحر الالوهية وانكرت الحق ايباقا عن
العبودية ونأت عن العبد الاوسط مركز الحمد والفضايل
وارتبطت بالطرفين المذمومين مقر الاضداد والرذايل
تنكبا في اصل خلقتها عن الابداع ونكوصا عن الحق من حيث
العنصر الخبيث الي الشك والارتجاع فهي مستعرة لغاية التشويه

نظرتها كليلة بالمرض لا يباقها وحسرتها عاجزة عن اثبات
صور المعقولات منحرفة باللدد عن قبول تلخيص المعاني ومعرفة
الماهيات جاحدة لتوحيد المولي الاله الحاكم الجبار غامطة لنعم
وليه قايم الحق في مقدمات الاعصار الذي جعله المولي لشرع
نواميس لا بالسه ناسخا ولا بشبهه علي الامم بزخرفهم قاطعا
ناسخا ومحللا لربط كفرهم الذي عقدوه وفاضحا لمصايد
سحرهم الذي نفخوه في اذانهم ونفثوه وهادما لمباني افكهم
الماسس علي الضلالات وقامعا بالتوحيد جميع الاراء واصناف
المقالات فايقظ قومك ايها الدين الحكيم واوقفهم بالبرهان
الواضح ليتحققوا قايم الحق فهو الهادي الي الطريق المستقيم
فقد صاح صايح القيامه واهتزت للاخضرار فروع شجرة
الامامة واستولت الحسره علي اهل اللدد والمفرطين بالندامه
واجاب ندا الحق جريا علي ماثرهم في القدم رجال الاعراف
شهداء الدين سادات الامم وارتفعت مبانيهم في التوحيد
علي كل منار وعلم وانقطعت بالحق وصايل الانساب وتميزت

بالنجس واللدد عصبة المسيح الكذاب المخلوقة بسوء اعمالها
للشقوه والبلس والعذاب الممنوعه بالقذف واللعن عن مسيح
الحق صاحب العرض ومالك الرقاب فكان الخلق وحق الحق
بعظيم ما يوعدون قد نزل وازف وبالمستور قد ظهر وانكشف
فانا للمولي وبه معتصمون وبامام الزمان مسيح متمسكون
واثقون من هول يوم تعاظم عن مناسمت الايام وتجلل عن
القول فيه والخصام يوم تجازا فيه القلوب والابصار ويتجلي
للخلق بخلقه المولي الاله الحاكم الجبار يوم تذهل فيه العقول
والنفوس وتتنزه بجبروته المولي الاله الحاكم القدوس بحجب
من الملايكة الروحانيين الاطهار وافواج من الكروبيين
اولي الاجنحة والاوتار ويقدمهم السيد امام الامم في الادوار والاكوار
قد دانت له الاقطار والافاق وخضعت للمولي الخدود
والاعناق واذعنت له بالربوبية المخلوقات واعترفت للمولي
المنزه بالملك والعجز اجواهر المبدعات ونادي المنادي
لمن الملك اليوم فيرد امره الي الحاكم المنزه عن السنة والنوم

وتوضع للعرض الموازين وتنقد الاعمال وتنقطع وصايل
الكذبه ومن المدّعين الامال وتظهر للعيان نجبيات المخاري
ويكون القايم مسيح الحق على كل نفس بما كسبت هو المجازي ويفوز
الصادقون بمقدمات التصديق ويندم الشاكون المباهتون بما
اخترصوه على اهل التحقيق فشرّد بهم ايها السيّد الاوّاه
وقرّب اهل التوحيد والتصديق والايقان وحقق عند الكافة
مباني التنزيه والايمان فقد ظهر ما كان في القوة الى الفعل
والعيان وحصحص الحق وتميّز الخلق وتقضت ايام الفترة
ووجب على المحقين الى القدس المبادرة والهجرة فتقدم ايها
الشيخ الفاضل ما كنت اجلّا توخره واكشف ما كنت ضمره وتستره
فما على الرسول الناصح سوى البلاغ المبين والسلام عليك
وعلى من بحوزتك اعني كل موحد ذو دين والحمد للمولى الموجود
الماكر والشكر لوليه الامام الهادي القايم وكتبت في السنة
السابعة عشر من ظهور قايم الدين المنتقم من المشركين
والقاسطين والمرتدين والمارقين بسيف مولانا
الماكر اله العالمين تمت رسالة الهمدجد المولى وَ مَنِّهِ

X

ISLAM IN KSHMIR DURING THE FIRST HIJRA CENTURY.*

Advent, spread and consolidation of Islam in Kashmir was achieved through the efforts of dedicated individuals, religious scholars (Ulama), Sufis and enlightened Kashmirian rulers over the long period of seven centuries, beginning from the end of the 1st Hijra century and continuing through the 8th century (8th to 14th A.D.). Sayyid Ali Hamadani (714-785 A.H.) was among the last great luminaries in the long line of devoted Muslims in whose mission preaching for Islam in Kashmir reached its climax.

Shah-i-Hamadan was born in Hamadan on 12 Rajab 714 A.H. (22 October 1314 A.D.) and died in the present territories of Pakistan on 5/6 of Dhul Haj 785. A.H. (19 June 1385). He was a high ranking Amir being the son of the Governor of Hamadan, an accomplished religious scholar, and an influential Sufi saint dedicated to the cause of Islam.

In his *Safinat al-Auliya*, Dara Shikoh observed that Islam flourished in the valley of Kashmir with the advent of Ali (Sayyid Ali Hamadani). The late G.M.D. Sufi characterised Sayyid Ali as 'Apostle of Kashmir', a befitting homage paid to him in view of the fact that he was

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* The paper presented at the Shah-i-Hamadan International Conference, Muzaffarabad, 2-4 October, 1987.

the most eminent spiritual leader of his times and a highly qualified and committed preacher of Islam, who had visited Kashmir, stayed here for atleast two to three years, and influenced Sultan Qutbuddin (1773-89) to serve the cause of Islam through exemplary personal conduct and justice to the people. He also founded a *Khanqah* in Srinagar and left dedicated disciples behind to continue to propagate Islam.

As a tribute to Shah-i-Hamadan's great mission, some light is being thrown on the earliest phase of propagation of Islam in Kashmir, the very beginning of it, during the three years of the first Hijra century, from 93 to 96 A.H. (712-715 A.D.). The pioneer was the dedicated preacher Muhammad b. Harith Ilafi who happened to be the first Muslim missionary ever to visit and work in Kashmir. The earliest references to his mission are preserved in the book *Fathnama-i-Sind* which was translated from Arabic into Persian in 613 A.H. (1216 A.D.).

Muhammad and his brother Mu'awiya, were the leaders of the 'Banu Ilaf' contingent of the Muslim army on the Makran Front, where an unfortunate tribal fued occurred due to ethnic partisanship in which Sa'id b. Aslam, the Supreme Commander of the Makran Front, was killed. Fearing reprisal from Hajjaj, the powerful Viceroy of Iraq, Muhammad and his brother fled with their men to Sindh where the Brahman ruler Dahar readily received them, and employed them in his own army hoping to use them against the Muslim forces one day. This happened in the years 85 A.H. (704 A.D.).[1] This was the first among a series of aggressive acts which eventually impelled Hajjaj to dispatch a strong army under Muhammad b. Qasim in 92/711 to punish Dahar.

Even though tragic circumstances had brought Ilafis to the Court of Dahar, Muhammad was a true Muslim who could not be used against the Muslims, Being in service of Dahar, he had served him well and defeated his adversary, the ruler of Ramal. But when Dahar asked him to fight against Muhammad b. Qasim who had then crossed the Indus (Mehran), Muhammad politely refused. 'Though we are indebted to you', said he, 'we are Muslims and we do not fight against Muslims. So better permit us to leave'.[2] Earlier Dahar had entrusted his son Jaisinh to Muhammad Ilafi, and he seems to have influenced Jaisinh to such an extent that later on, during the Caliphate of Umar b. Abdul Aziz, Jaisinh embraced Islam. Also during his stay in Sindh, Muhammad Ilafi had visited the neighbouring State of Bhilmal/Bhinmal (the Marwar region) and brought a sizeable community in the capital within the fold of Islam. After the decisive battle in which Muhammad b.Qasim was victorious and Dahar was killed (93 A.H./712), Muhammad Ilafi left Sindh, took Jaisinh safe to Chitor from where he departed from him for Kashmir.

Muhammad Ilafi in Kashmir

Fathnama has preserved a detailed account of Muhammad Ilafi's mission in Kashmir:

> From there (Chitor), 'Ilafi separated from Jaisinh and reached 'Bilad-i-Takiya' (Taxila). Then he decided to offer his services to the ruler of Kashmir, and travelled onwards till he arrived in the vicinity of Rustan on the frontier of Ruyam/ Ravim which is a barren desert like region. From there he sent letters to the capital city of Rajairi situated in the mountains. King of Kashmir read his despatches and issued an order whereby Shakalhar (district) was granted as an estate to Ilafi. When Ilafi had personal audience with the king, he gifted 250 horses of best breed to him and his

companions. He (Muhammad Ilafi) then sent (his deputy) Jahm b. Samah al-Shami to manage for him the estate of Shakalhar. When he (Muhammad Ilafi) had a second audience with the king, he was given a crown (*chhatr*), chair (*kursi*), a *nava* (?) and a palanquin (*doli*) –, an honour which is only bestowed on great kings. The King then ordered a royal escort for him to (another estate granted to him in) the district Sahal where he stayed for some time. Thereafter he lived in Shakalhar and died there. Jahm b. Samah succeeded him, and his descendants continue to be there to this day (613/1216). He founded mosques, attained highest status and position, and was held in high esteem by the king of Kashmir.[3]

It may be noted from this report that Muhammad Ilafi had met the king of Kashmir twice. First he went from Takka country (Taxila) to Kashmir and was well received and highly honoured by the king. He was granted the estate of Shakalhar and also given a gift of horses for his men. This was when he had his first personal audience with the king. However, Muhammad Ilafi did not stay there. This was because Dahar, the ruler of Sindh with whom he initially attached himself, had been defeated and killed, and therefore, Muhammad Ilafi sent his deputy Jahm b. Samah to Shakalhar, and he himself hurried back and surrendered himself to Muhammad b.Qasim. Because Ilafi had refused to fight against Muhammad b.Qasim despite Dahar's persuasions, he was pardoned by Muhammad b.Qasim, given the rank of ambassador to visit the Indian States, invite the rulers to Islam and promote treaties of peace and friendship with them.

He carried out this assignment successfully, and the rulers of Bhilmal, Kaira (Gujarat) and Kanbah (Cambay) accepted Islam. He visited the ruler of Kashmir second time as an ambassador, and was therefore given a royal

reception and bestowed highest honours of a royal nature and also another estate of Sahal was bestowed on him.

The last part of this report is noteworthy; that is after Muhammad's death, Jahm b. Samah had succeeded him as preacher and he continued to spread the message of Islam and founded mosques at Shakalhar and elsewhere. It may be pointed out that Ali Kufi who translated the original Arabic work into Persian as *'Fathnama-i-Sind'* in the year 613 A.H. (1216A.D.), had confirmed that the descendants of Jahm b. Samah were still there at Shakalhar[4] in that year (613-A.H.).

As a result of Ilafi's devoted work the ideals of Islam had a lasting impact in Kashmir and other northern regions where sizeable Muslim communities would appear to have flourished during the next centuries. Thus, writing in 232/846, Ibn Khurdadhbeh considered it necessary to mention the direction of the *qibla* for Kashmir[5] along with other places where there were Muslims. Also Baladhuri has recorded an important report that during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim Billah (218-227 A.H./833-843), the ruler of Usaifan, situated in the region between Kashmir, Multan and Kabul, having lost faith in his temple gods, invited some Muslim merchants who explained monotheism to him and he accepted Islam and became a Muslim.[6] It was only about four to five decades after this, that in the year 270 A.H. the Rai of Kashmir (Mahruk son of Rayaq) wrote to Amir Abdullah of the Habbarid dynasty of Mansura (Sind) to send a knowledgeable Muslim scholar who would explain to him the *Shari'a* of Islam. This was done and, on return, the scholar informed the Amir that by the time of his departure, the Rai "had accepted Islam by inner conviction as well as by word of

mouth, though he could not openly declare (his acceptance of) Islam for fear of his status and loss of his kingdom".

REFERENCES

1. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, De Goege's Edition, Lyden 1866, p.435. *Fathnama-i-Sind*, ed. N.A. Baloch, Institute of Islamic history, Culture and Civilization, Islamabad, 1402 A.H./1982, text pp.61-62 and commentary pp.45-46.
2. Fathnama, text, pp.121-122.
3. Fathnama, pp.153-154.
4. Shakalahar in Kashmir remains to be identified even though one may be tempted to identify it with Sialkot (Sakala) which then might have been situated within the boundaries of Kashmir.
5. Says he in his *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mammalik*:
   (قبله) بلاد الجزر و قشمير والهند الي حائط الكعبه الذي فيها بابها
   وهو من القطب الشمالي عن يسار الي وسط الشرق
6. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, p.446.

XI

POLITICAL STATURE OF LAHORE DURING THE GHZNAVID PERIOD.*

The Ghaznavid epoch, with reference to Lahore, was of 172 years in duration, beginning with Lahore coming within the orbit of the Ghaznavid military command by the end of 1014 AD and continuing up to the termination of the Ghaznavid rule in Lahore in 1186 AD. During this period, Lahore's political and administrative importance was fourfold: as a strategic stronghold on the front line, as capital of the Lahore Province of the Ghaznavid dominion, as capital of the Indo-Ghaznavid Dominion, and as capital of the Indo-Ghaznivid Kingdom of Lahore. These four positions also defined its political stature and culture during the period. It is proposed to set forth the chronology in order to visualize the relative importance of each position.

Lahore as Ghaznavid stronghold on the Front

Before the Ghaznavids, Lahore had become part of the Pala kingdom. This was after Jaipal, ruling from Waihind, had conquered the kingdom of Raja Chandardat of Lahore in 999A.D. In 1002/1003, Jaipal appointed his son Anandpal as governor of Lahore who extended the boundaries of the Pala kingdom further east, beyond the Biyas River, subjugating the kingdoms of Thanesar,

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Sharwa and Sirsawa. Thus, Lahore became the capital of a very large province of the Pala kingdom, extending from river Jehlum to Thanesar. Long before his conquest of Lahore, Jaipal had launched attacks against the Turkish State of Ghazni, the first one in 363/973. Three years later, when Sabuktigin came to power (366/976), he routed Jaipal in the battle of Guzak (376/986-87). With Jaipal's crushing defeat in the battle of Peshawar by Sultan Mahmud (392/Nov. 1001), the Indus became the dividing line between the Ghaznavid territories and the Pala kingdom which extended further from the Indus to Lahore and beyond to Thanesar. After Jaipal's death, his son Anandpal who had continued his conflict with Sultan Mahmud and was defeated in the battle of Nagarkot (399/1009) shifted his capital from Waihind to Nandana where he died. His son Trilochanapal sought help from his allies, the Indian rulers, and assembled a huge army against Sultan Mahmud, who marched against him in 405/1012, captured Nandana and defeated him near Jhelum. Fearing the Sultan's further onslaughts, Trilochanapal crossed the Jhelum and fled to Thanesar, the farthest fort of his kingdom. He had left his provincial capital of Lahore behind him, which then became a part of the Ghaznavid territories. For the next ten years, during the Sultan's subsequent expeditions (in 1014, 1019 and 1022), which culminated in the final defeat of Trilichanapal and subjugation of his allies in the Ganges Doab. Lahore then remained the strategic Ghaznavid stronghold for advance into inner India.

Lahore as Capital of the Lahore Province of the Indo-Ghaznavid Dominion

With the subjugation of his adversaries in 1022 AH, Sultan Mahmud brought to an end his campaigns in India. For the next eight years, from 1022 until his death in 1030,

the Sultan streamlined the administration of the Indo-Ghaznavid territories and put it on a sound footing. These stood divided into four provinces: Peshawar, Nandana, Lahore and Multan. Nandana was constituted as the second province after Peshawar, when Nandana Fort was captured by about April 1014 and the Sultan appointed Sarugh Sharabdar as his governor there. As Nandana was the capital of Pala kingdom, it also became the capital of the Sultan's newly conquered trans-Indus territory. Even after Lahore came under the Sultan's control and became a provincial capital, Nandana remained the capital of the Indo-Ghaznavid Dominion during the lifetime of Sultan Mahmud (d. 1030 AD). But Lahore had its own importance because the authority of the governor of Lahore extended beyond East Punjab up to the Ganges Doab, including the fort of Kalinjar. It was in Fort Kalinjar that Prime Minister Khawaja Ahmed b. Hasan Maymandi was detained during the last years of Sultan Mahmud's reign. Therefore, after Sultan Mahmud Lahore supplanted Nandana as Provincial Capital.

Lahore as capital of the Indo-Ghaznavid Dominion

So far as civil administration was concerned, the dominion provinces were administered directly by the Sultan from Ghazni through his four provincial governors, but the military command for the whole dominion was unified in the office of the "Commander-in-Chief of Hindustan" who was stationed in Lahore as the battle frontiers extended beyond the province of Lahore. Aryaruq, the most able and trusted of Sultan Mahmud's Commanders was stationed in Lahore when Sultan Mahmud died (421-1030). Thereafter, Sultan Mas'ud called back Aryaruk and appointed Ahmad Niyaltigin as Governor of Lahore (Sha'ban 422 AH/August 1030), and the power of the

Lahore Governor increased twofold as compared to the other provincial governors. In July 1037, Sultan Mas'ud appointed his own son Majdud as governor of Lahore and dispatched him from Ghazni with full honours and army. This further enhanced the power and prestige of the governor of Lahore who, in effect, became the Sultan's viceroy for his Indian Dominion. Majdud was governor as well as Commander-in-Chief, and he proved his merit and achieved victories. He was in Hansi, preparing to march against Delhi, when he heard of his brother Maudud having sent his army against him. He, therefore, hastened back and reached Lahore on 27 July 1042 but died three days later on 30, July 1042 before the arrival of Maudud's army. Majdud was the first Ghaznavid prince who died in Lahore, and he was possibly buried there. The then prevalent hostile environment might not have facilitated his body being taken ceremoniously to Ghazni for internment.

When Maudud became the Sultan of Ghazni, he followed the precedent set by his father Sultan Masud, and appointed his son Mansur as governor of Lahore and the other son Mahmud as governor of Peshawar. But Sultan Maudud kept the Military Command separate, and appointed Abu Ali Hasan, the Kotwal of Ghazni, to command the army on the Indian Front. Subsequently, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim who ruled for forty-two years and his son Mas'ud al-Karim who ruled for seventeen years, perfect order prevailed in the Ghaznawid Empire. The Indian Dominion also remained stable and the army commander at Lahore achieved victories beyond the boundaries of the Lahore province. In civil administration, the governor of Lahore remained important, he being the viceroy of the Sultan of Ghazni.

Lahore as capital of the Indo-Ghaznavid Kingdom of Lahore

Dissentions in the ruling house of the Ghaznavids weakened their hold on the far-flung dominions, including the dominion in India with Lahore as its capital. Differences had surfaced between the sons of Sultan Mas'ud, and Maudud had sent an army from Ghazni against his brother Majdud, who was the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Lahore. Subsequently, the situation remained normal during the long stable reigns of Sultan Ibhraim (d.1099) and Sultan Mas'ud al-Karim (d.1114). On the latter's death, there was internecine struggle for power between his sons: Arsalan deposed Shahzad, and Bahramshah dethroned Arsalan with the help of Sultan Sajnar in 512/1118. Arsalan fled to Hinudstan, which became an alternate bastion of power for the dissenters. With Arsalan removed, Bahramshah became 'Sultan of Ghazni' but his position remained precarious. Firstly, he had to contend with his own deputy, the viceroy of Lahore, who had assisted Arsalan and then rebelled against Bahramshah. He was eventually vanquished (513 AH) and Bahramshah then appointed his own viceroys in Lahore. For the next fifteen years Bahramshah ruled in peace, but then committed the mistake of withholding payment (529 AH/1135) of the fixed tribute to his benefactor Sultan Sanjar who occupied Ghazni and took possession of the treasures, but left Bahramshah to rule in Ghazni.

This had weakened Bahramshah, and also he had to face challenge from the rising power of the Ghurids. Sayfuddin Suri attacked Ghazni in 1148/543 and declared himself 'Sultan of Ghazni'.Bahramshah counter attacked, captured Sayfuddin and put him to death (544/1149).

Thereafter, Alauddin Husayn attacked Ghazni, defeated Bahramshah and set the city on fire. Bahramshah fled to Hindustan and probably remained in Lahore for two years. During this period, Sultan Sanjar had captured and imprisoned Alauddin, and Bahramshah returned to Ghazni (546/547 AH/1152 AD). He ruled for five years more until his death in 522/1157. Bahramshah was succeeded by his son Khusrawshah, who was too weak to face the Ghuzz Turkmen invading Ghazni.

Khusrawshah, therefore vacated his ancestral capital, and came to Lahore and established himself there. Ghazni was lost to him forever, and instead of 'Sultan of Ghazni' he became 'Badshah' of the Indo-Ghaznavid Dominion (552/1157), now 'Kingdom of Lahore' with Lahore as its capital. Khusrawshah died in 555 AH/1160 and was succeeded by his son Khusraw Malik who could have survied as King of Lahore had he gained the favour of the Sultan of Ghazni, Muhammad Muizddin, who was conquering the Ghaznavid territories and other countries in India. Under the influence of his officers and commanders, Khusraw Malik was compelled to resist the Sultan who took him prisoner in 582 H 1186, occupied Lahore and appointed his own viceroy there. Thus, the great Ghaznavid dynasty as also their kingdom of Lahore came to an end.

The Ghaznavid Kingdom of Lahore, brought about by compelling circumstances, had lasted for a brief period of thirty years (552-582 AH). And yet, the emergence of the Lahore Kingdom was of historical significance in so far as an Indo-Muslim State had appeared in northern India with its own controlling authority and with its own capital situated on its own soil.

XII

THE SULTANATE OF MAKRAN.*

The Sultanate of Makran emerged out of the Chaznavid/Ghurid dependencies of Makran and Qusdar in the 6th/12th century, and remained allied with the Ghurid Sultanate. Thus, in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*[1], Taj al-Din Abu'l-Makarim of Makran has been referred to as a 'Malik' of the two Ghurid Sultans, Ghiyath al-Din and Mu'izz al-Din. Kej/Kech was the capital of the Sultanate which included both the former kingdoms of Makran and Qusdar. The strong Baloch ethnic stock of the country constituted the backbone of the Sultanate's power that successfully withstood the onslaughts of the Ghuzz. However, no historical record has survived, and our only - meager but important - information about the Sultans of Makran comes from the panegyrics *(qasidas)* composed by Siraj al-Din Siraji of Khurasan (d. 652/1253-54) and Badi` al-Din Tarko of Seistan, who were attached to their Courts.[2] The references and allusions in these panegyrics indicate that the foundation for emergence of the Makran Sultanate[3] was laid by 'Malik' Hasan early in the 6th/12th century. He was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Makarim Khasrau Shah, whose two sons, Taj al-Din and Nusrat al-Din, later assumed the title of 'Sultan' (probably after the death of the Ghurid Sultan Mu'izz al-Din in 602/1205), and ruled jointly for a long time. One panegyric of Siraji

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for Nusrat al-Din is dated 609/1212. Sultan Taj al-Din 'Abu'l-Makarim', was however the more illustrious of the two rulers.

With the integration of Makran and Qusdar, a strong Sultanate emerged with maritime, commercial, and pastoral resources from the vast hinterland. The religious base of the society was consolidated without the extremes of the earlier Kharijite pursuasions. No one drank wine, but both the *'Id* and the *Nauruz* festivals were celebrated with enthusiasm. Both Persian and Makrani (Balochi) languages contributed to better communication and cultural integration. Backed by these factors, the Sultans of Makran mustered enough power to inflict a crushing defeat on the Ghuzz invaders.[4] This victory in turn further added to the power and prestige of the Makran Sultanate. Hence Siraji's comparison of Makran with Khurasan[5] was more meaningful than a mere poetic hyperbole. With their capital at Kech,[6] nearer to the coast-line of the Arabian sea, the Sultans of Makran actively participated in the maritime commerce which then flourished from Arabia to China. Merchants and mariners from Makran, like their compatriots from adjacent Sindh, sailed and traded on South-East Asian and Far-Eastern shores. According to a tradition the main Makran port of Gawadar became known as the gateway to Jawa - and some eminent personages from Makran had also settled down in Sumatra and Jawa (Java). The learned Abu Ishaq of Makran was one of them who settled in Pasai, in Sumatra, and was subsequently known as "Abu Ishaq al-Makrani al-Fasi" (of Makran, and then of Pasai). He left behind an important work on the history of the State of Perlak entitled *Kitab Izharul-Haq fi Silsilat Raja Perlak* ('The Book Establishing the Truth about the History of Perlak').[7]

The references in Siraji's panegyrics to the four sons of Sultan Taj al-Din, and two sons of Sultan Nasrat al-Din, indicate that with the line of successors ensured, their dynastic rule continued on, and remained uninterrupted for more than two centuries; for, no references to the contrary are available suggesting that Makran was under any other rulers upto the 8th/14th century. Siraji eulogized, in separate *qasidas,* Taj al-Din's son Sultan Shah and Nusrat al-Din's two sons, Nasir al-Din Muhammad and Muizz al-Din Sanjar Shah, which shows that they were important personages even during the lifetime of their fathers. Besides his two royal patrons and their sons, Siraji also composed poems in praise of the following ministers, nobles and dignitaries of Makran:

1. Jamal al-Din Abu'l Maali b. Abu'l-Khayr, a minister of Nusrat al-Din;[8]
2. Jamal al-Din Muhammad Abu Hatim, a minister of Nusrat al-Din;[9]
3. Sabiq al-Din Sa'dan b. Mahmud, a minister of Nusrat al Din;[10]
4. Wajih al-Din Faraj, a minister of Nusrat al Din;[11]
5. Mir Nur al-Din, Umar, a noble of the court of Nusrat al-Din.[12]
6. Shams al-Din Atabek b. Ibrahim, a minister of Taj al- Din and Nusrat al-Din;[13]
7. Husam al-Din, a relative of Taj al-Din;[14]
8. Najm al-Din Sadr, a minister of Taj al-Din;[15]
9. Jamal al-Din Faramurz b. Yusuf, a relative of Nasir al-Din.[16]
10. Ziya' al-Din Mahmud b. Abi Bakr, a minister of Makran;[17]
11. Khatir al-Din b. Shams al-Din Atabek, a minister of Makran;[18]
12. Nur al-Din Khwurshid, of Makran.[19]

The foregoing list shows that administratively the Sultanate of Makran was well-organized and a number of important functionaries were attached to the court.

REFERENCES

1. See Minhaj-i-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri,* Eng.tr., H. G. Raverty, Vol.I,Lahore, 1977, repr., pp. 390, 490.

2. The poetical works of Siraji have been ably edited by Prof. Nazir Ahmad of Aligarh under the title of *Diwan-i- Siraj al-Din Khurasani* (Aligarh, 1972). Professor Nazir Ahmad has also brought to light Badi` al-Din's *qasida* in praise of Makran's ruler, Taj al-Din Abu'l-Makarim, in which he is addressed as *"Shahanshah".*

   اي شهنشاهي كه اندر چار ديوار جهان
   هفت كشور صيت تست ارچه تو در يک كشوري

3. It may as well be referred to as a 'Kingdom'. In his encomiums, however, the poet Siraji refers to Makran's two illustrious rulers, Taj al-Din and Nusrat al-Din, by such imposing titles as *Shah, Shah-i-A`zam, Shahanshah, Khusarau-i- Makrun,* and *Khusrau-i-A`zam.* In the manuscript of his *Diwan,* his panegyrics on them are invariably headlined as 'In praise of *Sultan (so and so).* One poem (No.79 in the *Diwan)* is even captioned as "In praise of *al-Sultun al-A`zam Nusrat al- Din Abu'l-Khattab Khusrau-i-Makran."* This shows that the Makran rulers were known as `Sultans', and hence the 'Sultanate of Makran'.

4. Both the poets in their *qasidas* have alluded to the Sultan's victory over the Ghuzz. Siraji wrote:

   مبارکباد فتح سنگ و غز مقهور پيش تو
   كه قهر لشكر غز را چو تو قهار مي باشد

   (Congratulations on conquest of the fort of Sang and victory over the Ghuzz: who could avenge the violence of the Ghuzz hordes but you?).

   Similarly, in another poem he praises the brother of Nusrat al-Din in these words:

   مبارکباد فتح سنگ و غز مقهور پيش تو
   دعاي بي گمانست اين كه آمينش يقينستي

5. In his panegyric (No.66, in the *Diwan)* on "Sultan Nusrat al-Din Abu'l- Khattab", Siraji complimented him in these words: "I have not erred in saying that in importance Makran is comparable to Khurasan, even as `Shah of Makran' is comparable to `Sanjar of Khurasan'."

6. In his panegyric (No.50, in the *Diwan)* on "Sultan Mu'izz al-Din

Sanjar Shah" (son of Sultan Nusrat al-Din), Siraji refers to Kech in these words:

   تهنيت را خدمتي ترتيب كن در راه كيچ
   رايت سنجر شهي بر طالع ميمون رسيد

7. This work has been published from Banda Acheh, Sumatra, Indonesia.

8. *Diwan-i-Siraj al-Din Khurasani, op.cit.,* poems 2 and 14.

9. *Ibid.,* No.94.

10. *Ibid.,* Nos.35 and 88.

11. *Ibid.,* No.111.

12. *Ibid.,* No.29.

13. *Ibid.,* Nos. 40, 42 and 112.

14. *Ibid.,* No.22.

15. *Ibid.,* No.25.

16. *Ibid.,* No.111.

17. *Ibid.,* Nos. 19, 38 and 59.

18. *Ibid.,* Nos. 39 and 60.

19. *Ibid.,* No.51.

XIII

CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN IRANIAN, TURKISH AND PAKISTANI PEOPLES.*

The history of the lands extending contiguously form the Indus on the East to Asia Minor on the West, was nurtured in the same cradle, through periodic migrations from the Central Asian and the Iranian plateaus. The processes of cultural collision and assimilation and the eventual diffusion of common cultural traits and traditions during the pre-historic and early historic periods are amply testified by Archaeological discoveries. Here it is proposed to take a panoramic view of cultural contacts between the Turkish, Iranian and the Pakistani peoples in the light of history.

At present, the Pakistani and the Iranian peoples are neighbours on the East while the Turkish and the Iranian peoples are neighbours on the West. This set-up is comparatively a recent event in history. The first contacts between the three peoples started from the East, making the Pakistani, the Turkish and Iranian people as close neighbours.

15th to 10th Century B.C.

The pre-historic migrations from the two great reservoirs of human vigour, outgoing movement and

* The Paper presented at the R. C. D. Colloqium, Tehran, 1976.

adjustment, namely Iran and Turk Lands, brought the early Iranian and Turkish peoples into contact with the peoples of the lands of Pakistan by about 15th to 10th century B.C. Among the great cultural achievements which followed these contacts, the adoption of agriculture, founding of the new cities and exchange of vocabulary were the more important ones.

The contacts of the early settlers of the lands of Pakistan with immigrants from the regions of Iran and Turan began by about 15 to 10 centuries B.C. These culminated in what is known as the 'early Aryan settlements' along the Indus and in the plains of the Punjab. From the combined labour of the immigrants and the indigenous population, resulted the adoption of agriculture as a settled way of life, one of the earliest contributions to human culture. The Indus and its tributaries, the fertile plains and their landscape fascinated the early settlers and a primitive system of irrigation developed. The information communicated by the migrants to their kith and kin in their homelands, was later preserved through legend and lore which was partly recorded in later historical writings.

Thus, both Jamshed[1] as well as Manuchihar son of Faridun[2] (a descendant of Arya and contemporary of the Prophet Moses) were credited with having excavated (occupied?) Mihran, the river Indus, during the Peshdadyan period. The faint truth of this tradition may be substantiated on philological grounds. The name 'Mihran' which the Arabs found current in Sindh for the Indus in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. and to which they gave a wide publicity through their universal histories and geographies is, indeed, of Persian origin.[3]

During the early Kayanid epoch, Darius son of Xerxes ordered the navigation of the Indus. Already irrigation had developed and agriculture progressed and new settlements were founded. The political influence of the Kayanid monarchs promoted the foundation of new towns. Thus, 'Siyawush son (grandson?) of Kaikaus built a stronghold on the banks of the Indus in Sindh and called it Mihrjan'[4] after the great Iranian festival with which his victory might have coincided. Later, Darazdast (Longimanus) Kai Bahman (Bahman Ardshir) founded three towns, all called after his own name: (i) one Bahmanabad, between Ray and Nishapur;[5] (ii) another in Iraq on the upper Zab which was first called Adedh-e-Ardshir but subsequently became famous as Bahmania;[6] and (iii) the third one Bahmanabad in the Lower Indus Valley of Sindh.[7] The last one in Sindh preserved the suffix 'abad' in its name (pointing to its early Iranian origin), but the domination of Brahmanism in the 7th century A.D. changed it from 'Bahmanabad' to 'Brahmanabad'. According to the author of *Mujmal-al Tawarikh,* the Brahman king Qafund (Govind?) despatched his brother Samed to the region of Mansura (Sindh) and at the very place where the Persian Monarch Bahman had once halted and built a Fire-temple, an Idol-temple was erected by Samed.[8] Thus, when Muslims entered the Indus Valley in the first decade of the 8th century A.D., they found the city being called 'Brahmanabad', and later when they founded the new capital of Mansurah adjacent to it the people continued to call the new city also by the old name of 'Brahmanabad.[9] However, as late as the 11th century A.D., Beruni correctly recorded the name of the city as 'Bahman-wa'.[10] The remains of 'Bahmanabad' lie some 48 miles north-east of Hyderabad, near the town of Jhol.

During the later phase of this period, and long before the 1st century B.C., the peoples of Turkish stock from the

Trans-Oxus regions entered the areas lying midway between the Indus and the Helmund valleys. One of their principalities coincided with the present Kalat region of Pakistan, and to demarcate the boundary between them and the people of the lower Indus Valley of Sindh, the city of 'Qandabil' was founded at the instance of Bahman-e-Ardshir[11] who appears to have acted as an arbitrator. That ancient city of 'Qandabil' has survived through the vicissitudes of times and is now represented by the town of Gandava in the Kalat Division of Pakistan.

From these early contacts between the three peoples also came the gains in exchange of techniques of irrigation and assimilation of new vocabulary and new ideas.

The technique of lifting water from below to a higher level for irrigation by a wheel flourished in the lower Indus Valley in its varied and complex form with local nomenclature and terminology. This indicates that it was developed there by the peoples of the Indus Valley. The close political and cultural contacts betweens the Iranian and the Pakistani peoples during this period enabled its early transportation to Iran, thus giving it also the name of 'Persian Wheel'.

So far as the exchange of vocabulary and development of new ideas were concerned, the immigrants from the Iranian regions brought the word 'Hur' (meaning 'Sun' in Avesta) which was assimilated as 'Sur' in the Pakistan lands. The Sanskrit retained it as *Suriyah* and it is now used as *'Suraj'* in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. Similarly, 'Div' which originally meant light and was worshipped as a 'god' in the Iranian lands was later on abhored in the sense of 'demon'. Those who still worshipped it, seemed to have migrated under pressure, and

after settling in the Indus Valley, they re-affirmed their worship of 'Dev' as 'God'. Thus, 'div' as 'demon' turned into 'Div' as 'God' in the Indus lands and has retained this connotation to this day.

Of the earliest Turkish vocabulary assimilated in Pakistani lands, one may identify the adjective *karah* meaning 'black'. The Turkish people reaching the North-Western frontiers of Pakistani lands had named the high mountain range as 'Karah Korum' (The Black Range). It is still called by that name. The word *karah* was assimilated in to the local vocabulary of the Pakistani lands, and also became a part of the Sanskrit language. The word for 'black' in Urdu, the lingua franca of Pakistan, is *kala* while in the language of Sindh it is *karo* nearer to the original Turkish *karah.* The Turkish word 'tepe' for 'hillock' was also assimilated into the vocabulary of the northern frontiers of Pakistan and is still retained in the form of 'tope' in Pushtu.

1st to 8th Century A.D.

These contacts further developed during the next period of 800 years, from the 1st to the 8th century A.D. Political influence of Iran during the reign of Ardshir Papakan (226-240 A.D), the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, extended eastward as far as far as the Punjab.[12] According to Ibn Khaldun, he had received the ambassadors of the kings of Koshan, Makran and Turan. Kings of Koshan may be identified as the Kushan kings of Gandhara, i.e. the northern Peshawar region of Pakistan. Makran and Turan[13] were the two Turki principalities in those times. Later, during the reign of Shapur II, political influence of Iran extended further eastward, and he founded many towns in Seistan and Sind.[14] His main contribution was the founding

of the city of 'Pur-e-Shapur', called by the early historians as 'Farshawur',[15] i.e. Peshawar which is now a developing city of Pakistan.

The Sassanian monarch Bahram Gur(420-440 A.D.) and the great Khaqan of the Western Turks were both contemporaries[16] and their power and personalities had a great impact on the neighbouring lands including those of Pakistan. The title 'Khaqan' in its abridged form 'Khan' as an honorific title, was assimilated into local languages and cultures, and is common among the Turkish, Iranian and the Pakistani peoples to this day. Bahram Gur's advent into the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent remained a memorable event and references to his receiving the provinces of Daibul and Makran (which were then parts of the Sindian kingdom) as dowary[17] indicate that he visited the lower Indus Valley of Sindh.[18] This is also confirmed by the tradition that the king from Sindh had sent his musicians who, according to Hamza of Isphahan, were the 'Zutt',[19] i.e. Juts from Sind. This incidentally connects the music of Pakistan historically with that of Iran, and suggests that the *luriyan*, or the professional minstrels of Iran are originally the Juts from Sind, In return, the faint memories of Bahram Gur's visit were preserved through folklore in Pakistani lands, and even in a recent survey as many as seven versions of the story of Bahram Gur were recorded in Sind.[20]

During the sixth century A.D. political contacts between the Sassanid Emperor Khusraw Naushirwan (531-590 A.D), the Turkish Emperor Khaqan and the rulers of the Indus Valley of Sindh are amply confirmed.[21] Also during the sixth, seventh and the eighth centuries there flourished three Turkish States, the two in the north, with Kabul and Ghazna as their capitals, and the two more

south-eastward namely Bu-kan and Ki-Kanan, covering the present Quetta Division and the Kalat Division of Pakistan. These two dynasties were the twin branches of the Kushan Yuechi Turks. Ever since the days of the Bacterian Greeks in the 2nd century A.D., these regions were colonized and held by the various stocks of the Turkish people.[22]

By the end of the 7th century A.D., the Shah rulers of Ghazna were supplanted by another Turkish dynasty of the Rutbils. The Kabulshah rulers of Kabul, the Zabulshah rulers of Ghazna and the Rubils extended their rule over Seistan.

Here mention may be made of a cultural trait which was typical of the early Iranian and the Turkish peoples and which was first adopted by the Muslims from the Kikanan territories in the later half of the 7th century A.D. In the year 44 A.H./664 A.D. the Muslim General, Muhallab b. Abi Sufra, encountered a contingent of twelve Turkish horsemen who had cut the long tail-ends of their swift-footed horses for purpose of quick manoeuvre. Muhallab was much impressed and he decided to introduce this practice in his cavalry. According to Baladhuri, he was the first among the Muslims to introduce this practice.[23] Later on, tails of all the horses carrying the post were invariably cut or trimmed, and from the Persian word *buridan* (for cutting or trimming), originated the new term 'Barid' for postal service. The Muslims, however, adopted this practice first from their contacts with the Turkish people in the 7th century A.D. in the territories which are now part of Pakistan.

The Turkish culture and way of life continued to flourish in the areas where Muhallab had encountered the Turkish horseman, even up to the middle of the 4th century

A.H. (10th century A.D.) when Istakhari wrote on the basis of his personal observations that "the inhabitants of this whole region are like Turks in dress as well as in language".[24]

The point to be noted is that for centuries, right up to the advent of Islam, the Turkish people were the next door neghbours of the people of Pakistan on the West and of the people of Iran on the East.

Islam joined the Iranian, the Pakistani and the Turkish peoples in common faith and in a community of common purposes and ideas. They have been the vanguards of the progressive movement of Islam at different periods. Their contributions in building up the new administrative, social, political and economic institutions and in the development of Science, Arts and Literature enriched the Islamic Civilization which had a tremendous impact on the course of world history.

REFERENCES

1. Hamza, *Sini Muluk al-Ard wa al-Anbiya*, p.25.
2. Kitab al-Bada' wa al-Tarikh, p.60.
3. "Mihran" as proper name of persons was current in Persia long before the Arab conquest of Sind. "Shapur-e-Mihran" was one of the Ispahbads of Persian provinces who rose in revolt against Kubad s/o Firuz (Ibn Khaludn, II/176).
4. Masudi (Muruj,II/132) . It appears probable that this town of Mihrjan might have originated the name Mihran for the Indus. Having been founded on its banks, the river name changed into "Mihrjan-rud" which became "Mihran-rud", or simply 'Mihran' in later times.
5. Cf. Ibn Khurdazbeh, p.23; Qudamah p.201; Istakhari, p.284; Hudud al-Alam (Persian Text, Tehran, p.56 and Gibb Memorial, Eng. Trans., pp.39, 102); and Tarikh-e-Baihaq, p.204.

6. This town still existed when Tabari (868-932 A.D.) wrote his Annals (vide Vol.I, p.687).
7. Mujmal al-Tawarikh, pp.117-118.
8. Ibid., p.119.
9. Istakhari, p.172 and Ibn Haukal, p.226.
10. *Kitab al-Hind*, Arabic Text, p.130 & Eng. Trans. Vol.I, p.260. '*Wa*' in Sindhi means 'village' or 'settlement'. Thus, 'Bahman-wa' meant "The settlement of Bahman".
11. *Mujmal al-Tawarikh*, pp.114-118.
12. Sykes, p.394.
13. Turan would appear to have comprised the present Las Bela and Jhalawan districts of the Kalat Division of Pakistan.
14. Tabari, I/845.
15. Farsnamah, pp.12-13. Also al-Tha'alabi, *Ghurar*, p.529 and *Nuzhat-al-Qulub* (Persian text p.254 & Gibb Memorial Trans. p.245).
16. Tabari, I/866.
17. Farsnama p.82; Tabari I/868; & Ibn Miskawaih I/157.
18. For further discussion, see the writer's article "Political Influence of Persia in Sind in pre-Islamic Times", Journal of the Sind Historical Society, Karachi, 1947.
19. Sini Muluk al-Ard wa al-Anbiya', p.38.
20. Vide "Popular Folk Stories: The Romantic Stories of Outside Origin Current in Sind", the Sindhi Folklore Book XXXIV, edited N.A.Baloch, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, Pakistan, 1964.
21. Tabari I/849; Hamza, p.38; *Mujmal al-Tawaikh*, p.71 & Masudi, Muruj II/200.
22. The Bacterian Greeks were followed by the Sakas, the Parthians, the Yuechi or Tukhari Turks, and the Epthalites (c.470-520 A.D). —all belonging to the various stocks of Turkish origin.
23. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan* (Chapter on Conquest of Sind).
24. 'Istakhari, pp.244-45.

XIV

ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION IN CENTRAL ASIA.*

Currently a UNESCO Project on 'History of the Central Asian Civilizations' is under implementation. It is one of the important UNESCO sponsored projects on the study of human history, cultural and civilization.

For purpose of this Project, 'Central Asia' is seen in its wider historical-cum-cultural setting as including Eastern Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the adjoining northern India, the Soviet Central Asian Republics, the Chinese Central Asia and Mangolia.

As recommended by the UNESCO International Editorial Committee, the history of the Central Asian Civilizations beginning from the earliest eras to the present times is to be projected in a series of six volumes as under:

Volume-I: DAWN OF CIVILIZATION, (Earliest Times to 700B.C)
Volume-II: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEDENTARY & NOMADIC CIVILIZATIONS, (700 B.C. to A.D. 250)
Volume- III: THE CROSSROADS OF CIVILIZATIONS, (c.250 A.D. – c.750 A.D)
Volume- IV: THE AGE OF ACHIEVEMENT, (circa 750 A.D – end of 15 century)
Volume-V: DEVELOPMENT IN CONTRAST, (16th -18th centuries)

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Volume-VI: TOWARDS CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION, (Beginning of the 19th century to the present time).

It will be seen from the above scheme that Volume-IV is intended to deal with the most flowering period of the Islamic civilization in Central Asia. Besides, Volume-III will cover the initial stage of the advent of Islam in Central Asian regions, while Volume-V may portray the continuity of the 'achievement period' in some regions and decline in others. The last Volume-VI covers the period marked by the rise of the colonial powers and the disintegration of Islamic Civilization.

In the 1st century of the Hijra (7th A.C.) during the life time of the Prophet (peace be upon him), Medina had become the nucleus of the growing Islamic community as also the dynamic centre of the first Islamic State which became a model for the unfolding of Islamic civilization. From its inception, the Islamic community integrated into an organization of all-inclusive human ideals-'religious', 'economic' and 'political' in modern terminology– for a healthy, progressive and fruitful life on earth. As such, the Islamic community was simultaneously a religious-cum-political community, and beginning with the extension of political power under Caliph Umar and Caliph Uthman some of the western regions of Central Asia came under the umbrella of the Islamic State. During the Umayyad period, in the last decade of the 1st century of the Hijra, General Muhammad b. Qasim had subjugated Al-Sind (including most of the territories of present Pakistan) while General Qutaiba b. Muslim had conquered Eastern Iran, Khurasan, Khwarazm and some other trans-Oxus regions. During a brief span of four years, 94-96 A.H., he had subjected Bukhara and Samarqand, Zarfashan Valley, Shash and

Farghana, and reached as far as Kashgar and negotiated the Chinese frontiers.

Thus, by the turn of the 1st century A.H. (the beginning of the 8th century A.C.), the faith of Islam, with its value system and community ideals, had become known over most of Central Asia. The impartial power of Islamic Justice as also the Islamic ideals of equality, fraternity, learning and education shook the foundations of primitive mores and superstitions, eclipsed the earlier creeds, toppled down the tyrannical overlords and tribal despots, and spread knowledge and enlightenment which enabled a nomad to see new meaning and purpose in the community life under the fold of Islam. Within the next two to three centuries, Islamic faith and Islamic way of life prevailed all over Central Asia.

I. The Historical Setting

The historical setting, political-cum-chronological, of the great Central Asian States and the dynamic powers which under the impulse of Islam succeeded in developing *a new civilization,* unknown in Central Asian history, may be briefly delineated. The countries are mentioned first and then the political powers:

- **Persia, Seistan, Khurasan, Transoxiana, Makran-Kaikanan - Bukan (Balochistan) Al-Sind & Hind.**

The Madinian Caliphate	632 - 661 A.C.
Umayyads of Damascus	661 - 750 A.C.
Abbasids of Baghdad	750 - 1030 A.C.

Persia

The Seljuqs	1038-1194 A.C.
The Ilkhandis	1282-1336 A.C.

S.E. Iran, Seistan, Khurasan (Afghanistan, Turkmenistan):

Tahirids	821-873 A.C.
Saffarids	867-1480 A.C.
Ghaznavid Sultans	977-1186 A.C.
Ghurid Sultans	1100-1206 A.C.

- Khurasan and Transoxiana (Uzbekistan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan)

Samanids	819-1005 A.C.
Qarakhanids	922-1211 A.C.

- Khwarazm, Jurjaniyyah, Persia and N. Khurasan (Kazakhstan, Kara - Kalpakskaya, Turkmenistan, N. Tajikistan, N.E. Iran, Afghanistan)

Khwarazm-Shahs	917-1231 A.C.

- Transoxiana (Tien Shan, Semirechye, Kirgizstan, Eastern Turkistan), Khwarazm and Khurasan

The Chaghtayid Khanate and the Timurid Empire	1227-1500 A.C.

- Southern Russia, South/Western Siberia, Qipchaq Steppe, Turkistan

The Khans of the Mongol-Tatar States	1206-1500 A.C.
The Batuid Khans (Golden Horde)	1290-1341 A.C.
Ordai Khans (White Horde)	1320-1481 A.C.
The Shaybanids (Ozbegs)	1429-1598 A.C.
The Grey Khans of Crimea	1426-1785 A.C.
The Khanates of Astrakhan, Qazan, Qasimov, Tiumen, Bukhara, Khiva	(c.15 century -16/17th century)

Sind and Hind (Pakistan and N. India)

(a) The Caliphate/ Post-Caliphate SIND 711-1000 A.C.
(b) The Ghaznavid and the Ghurid HIND 750-1206 A.C.
(c) The Delhi Sultanate and other Contemporary Sultanates, Kingdoms (Kashmir, Sind, Gujarat, Khandesh, Malwa, Jaunpur) 1206-1526 A.C.
(d) The Mughal Empire 1526-1858 A.C.

II. Process of Urbanization: Development of Centres of Education, Commerce & Culture

Pre-Islamic eras in Central Asia were marked by frequent migrations, vigorous nomadic stocks trampling different regions with powerful cultural collisions. After the advent of Islam, the initial cultural conflict soon submerged under the processes of accommodation and assimilation. The age-old barriers between the Iranian, Turanian, Indian and the Mongolian gave way to mutual compact and co-existence, leading to the development of a new social structure and Islamic society. A 'universal Muslim culture' came to prevail. In economic life, the new change marked a positive transition from the age-old Central Asian nomadism to a settled way of life. Development of new settlements, towns and cities — a universal trait of Islamic civilization — became a distinctive feature of the Central Asian scene. Administrative and economic compulsions were met by establishing dependable means of communication and organizing caravans and caravan-routes. The strategic' Royal Route Road' (Shah-rah) and the commercial highways and by-ways not only opened up the previously isolated regions but brought about cultural cohesion. By the third century A.H. (9th A.C.), communications had developed and postal service established through a number of Central Asian regions so that the Abbasid Post Master General, Ibn Khurdazbeh, complied a 'Handbok of Routes and Countries'(*Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*) for general information.

With the promotion of vigorous commercial activity and spread of Islam, the newly rehabilitated older cities and

the numerous newly established settlements and townships developed into commercial and cultural centres. One may glance at the following list of towns and cities, drawn up at random, which flourished as educational, cultural and commercial centers in the Central Asian regions:

1. Abhar	2. Abivard	3. Ardabil
4. Badghis	5. Baqlan	6. Balkh
7. Bust	8. Bistam	9. Baikand
10. Birjand	11. Bukhara	12. Chach/Shash
13. Daibul/Debal	14. Dilhi	15. Farab
16. Farghana	17. Fariyab	18. Firuzabad
19. Ghazni	20. Gailan	21. Gurgan/Jurjan
22. Hamadan	23. Herat	24. Isbijab
25. Isfahan	26. Isfarayin	27. Jurjan/Gurgan
28. Jurjaniyyah/ Gurganj	29. Kashgar	30. Khujand
	31. Lahijan	32. Lahore
33. Mansurah (Sind)	34. Maraghah	35. Mardin
	36. Merv	37. Multan
38. Nasa	39. Nishapur	40. Qazwin
41. Ray	42. Samarqand	43. Shahrastan
44. Shiraz	45. Shustar	46. Siyalkot
47. Tabriz	48. Taliqan	49. Tirmidh
50. Thatta	51. Tus	52. Tustar

This is not an exhaustive innumeration, but the sample should enable the informed reader to recall the names of so many eminent scholars and scientists who were known by their *nisbah* of having belonged to one or the other place. Many other great figures were known by their surnames with *nisbah* to their countries (instead of cities). Khwarazmi, Farsi, Tabari, Kirmani, Sijistani, Sindi, Hindi....were so called after their countries (of Khwarazm, Fars, Tabaristan, Kirman, Seistan, Sind and Hind). The process of urbanization brought about the growth of township and cities which developed into educational, cultural and commercial centres, and as such became a

distinctive feature of Islamic civilization. This is underlined in the very idea of Yaqut compiling an encyclopaedic geographical dictionary (*Mu'jam al-Buldan*) in order to list important place names such as towns, cities, districts, regions, provinces etc. of the Islamic world in the 13th century A.C.

III. Excellence in Intellectual Achievements

The period of Islamic Civilization in Central Asia represented a distinctive stage, and a major phase, of intellectual activity in the history of mankind. Its institutions produced distinguished administrators, scholars, scientists, artisans, craftsmen and other accomplished workers. Its enlightened rulers in the different regions established conditions of peace and prosperity which motivated highest level of performance in different vocations. A few aspects of this intellectual activity and excellence may be briefly noted.

Exegesis (Tafsir) and Theology (Aqa'id/Kalam)

In Tafsir (Exegesis), such important works as under were produced:

(1) Tabari's *Tafsir* (ii) al-Zamakhshari's *Kashshaf* and (iii) Fakhruddin Razi's (d. 606) *al-Tafsir al-Kabir* representing respectively (i) a detailed informative exposition (ii) rhetorical excellence and (iii) logical-cum-argumentative approach.

(2) The more standard/orthodox expositions:
- Al-Maturidi's (d. 303 H) *Tawilat Ahl al-Sunnah*
- al-Nasafi's *Madarik al-Tanzil*
- Abi-Saud Nishapuri's *Tafsir*
- Tafsir of Abu Laith Samarqandi (d 393 H.)

In al-Aqaid/al-Kalam (Theology) further advance was represented by such important works as under:

1-2. Al-Maturidi: (i) Sharh Fiqh al-Akbar (ii) *Kitab al-Tauhid*

3-6. al-Razi, Fakhrduddin: (i) al-Muhassal (iii) al-Burhan fi Al-Radd ala ahl al-Ziyagh wa- al-Tughyan (iii) Ajwabah Masa'il al-Bukhariyah (iv) al-Matalib al-'Aliyah.

7. Al-Nasafi. 'Umdat al-Aqa'id fi al-Kalam (al-Aqaid al-Nasafiyah)

8. Qadi al-Baidawi: *al-Tawali' fi' Ilm al-Kalam*

9-10 Al-Taftazani:

i) *Sharh al-'Aqaid al-Nasafiyah*

ii) *Sharh Talkhis al-Miftah.*

11. Alauddin Abu Bakr al-Kashani: *al-Sultan al-Mubin fi Usul al-Din.*

Codification of Hadith and Science of Hadith

The Central Asian savants made unsurpassed contribution in the codification of Hadith and in the development of science of Hadith. Their contribution in detail is to be found in such works as *al-Muntazam* of Ibn al-Jauzi and *al-I'lan bi-Taubikh, of al-Sakhawi.*

All the six recognized cannons of Hadith were codified by the dedicated savants of Central Asia:

1. *JAMI SAHIH* of Muhammad b. Ismail al-Bakhari (of Bukhara, d.256 H.)
2. *JAMI SAHIH* of Muslim b.Hajjaj al-Qushairi Nishaburi (of Nishapur)
3. The *JAMI SAHIH* of Abu Isa Tirmidhi (of Tirmidh)
4. The *SUNAN* of Nasai (of Nasa)

5. The *SUNAN* of Abu Daud Sulaiman b. Al-Ash'ath al-Sijistani of (Seistan)
6. The *SUNAN* of Ibn Majah Qazwini (of Qazwin)

A systematic study of the methodology employed by Imam Mohammad b. Ismail of Bukhara in his all-inclusive effort at the collection of the Prophetic Tradition culminating in the codex *SAHIH AL-BUKHARI* and of the foundation of the scientific discipline of the study of Hadith yet remains to be made. Also a review and evaluation of such other important works as *SUNAN* of al-Baihaqi and *Mashariq al- Anwar* of Al-Saghani (of Lahore Pakistan) is long over due.

Jurisprudence, Law and Legal Systems

The Hanafite School of Law/Jurisprudence becomes the basis of Islamic legal system in Central Asia. The judicial systems of the Samanid, the Ghaznavid, the Qarakhanid, the Seljuq, the Mongol-Tatar State, the Ilkhanid, and the Delhi Sultanate came to be based on the Hanafite law.

A scientific distinction between *Fiqh* (Law) and *Usual Fiqh* (Principles of Law/Jurisprudence) was maintained by the jurists and legalists of Central Asia.

They contributed such important works in the study of Law such as under:

1. *Al-Jami al-Kabir* of Imam Mohammad al-Shaibani of Ray

2-3 Talkhis (summary) and Sharh (the detailed exposition) of Imam Mohammad al-Shaibani's *al-Jami al-Kabir*, by Mahmud b. Mazah al-Hanafi (d.570).His two other works being *'al-Muhit al-Burhani'* and *'al-Dhakhirat al-Burhaniyah'*.

4-6 (i) *Tajnis* (ii) *Bidayah* (iii) and *Bidayah's* exposition *Hidayah* of al-Marghinani (d. 593 H.)
7. *Khizanat al-Fiqh* of Abu Laith Samarqandi (d.393 H.)
8. *Kitab al-Kanz fi al-Fiqh* of al-Nasafi (d. 710 H.)
9. *al-Ghayah* (Mukhtasar al-Wasti fi al-Fiqh) of al-Baidawi 685 H.)
10. *Al-Kafi fi Furu al-Hannafiyyah* of al-Hakim al-Shahid
11. *Kanz al-Daqa'iq* of al-Haskafi al-Marwaruzi
12. *Bada'i al-Sana'i* of Alauddin Malik al-Ulama Abu Bakr Kashani (d.587)

The following may be identified as other important works which contributed to the development of Jurisprudence:

1. Shams al-Aimmah Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Abi Sahl al-Sarkhasi (490 A.H.) His important work is *al-Mabsut.*
2-3 *al-Marwazi, Abu Abdullah Mohammad b. Nasr*: His two works (i) al-Qasamah,(ii) *Ma Khalaf bihi Abu Hanifah.*
4. Al-Kashani, 'Alauddin: *al-Sultan al-Mubin fi Usul al-Din.*
5-6 *al-Tanqih* and *al-Taudih fi Sharh al-Tanqih* of Ubaidullah b. Masud Samarqandi.
7. Al-Talwih fi Sharh al-Taudih of Taftazani
8. Usul Bazudi of Shaikh al-Islam.
9. *al-Minhaj fi al-Usul al-Fiqh* of Qadi al-Baidawi (d.685 H.)
10. *al-Minar fi al-Usul* of Abdullah al-Nasafi (d 710 H.)

Political Theories and Concepts

The development of political thought and theories during the Islamic period centered manly on the concepts

of (a) 'Caliph', Kingship, Emirate: (b) State and Government; (c) the Siyar or International Law.

Eminent theorists of whom the following are recognized to be the pioneers through their creative writings, laid the basis of 'Political Science'.

- *Al-Mawardi* (994-1058), the first eminent jursprudent and political theorist who took a practical view of the institution of Khalifah and of his rights and responsibilities.
- *al-Farabi*, a faithful interpreter of Plato, whose theories transcended those of Plato, in his (i) *Risalah fi Ara'i Ahl al-Madinat al-Fadilah* and (ii) *Tahsil al-Sa'adah.*
- *Ghazali*, the first to assign a specific position to 'political science' (in his *al-Munqidh min al-Dalal*), defining it as a science 'which deals with the proper order of State's affairs of the mundane category". In his *Ihya' al-'Ulum*, he enunciated the theory of the Necessity of State in remarkably modern terms.

After the fall of Baghdad, attention turned mainly to the moral basis of State and Society. Important works were:

- Nasiruddin Tusi (d.672/1274): *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*
- Jalaluddin Dawwani: *Akhlaq-i-Jalali*

Later, attention centered on more practical aspects of Government, its function and organization. Important works were:

- Ibn Tiqtiqah (1302 A.D.): *al-Fakhri.*
- Fadlullah Isphahani (d. 1514): *Suluk al-Muluk*

Philosophy, Logic and Dialectics

a. Development of philosophical thought as a result of studies in Greek philosophy, translation and exposition of Greek texts, and formulation of independent views continued.

b. Philosophy, Logic and Dialectics (al-Kalam) in the context of religious thought and belief (the orthodox and the Muatazilite views), represented a significant dimension. "Matn Matin fi Ilm al-Mantiq wa Ilm al-Kalam" (The Sound Text in the Science of Logic and Science of Dialectics) of Taftazani is an important contribution in this respect.

Among others, the contributions of the following philosophers are of special importance.

- al-Razi (Nihayat al-Uqul)
- Ghazzali (Tahafat al-Falasafah and Maqasid al-Falasafah)
- The following eminent scholars:

- Abu Yahya Zakariya al-Marwazi	- Ibrahim al-Marwazi
- Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Farabi	- Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani
- Abu'l Hasan al-Amiri	- Abu Sayd Sahl al-Balkhi
- Sayyid Sharif Jurjani	- Abu' I Ja'far al-Khzini
- Abu Sahl Bashr b. Ya'qub	- Abd'l Faraj ibn al-Hindi al-Nishaburi
- Abu Hayyan Tawhidi	- Ibn Miskawayah
- Abu Ali ibn Sina	- Bahmanyar ibn Marzuban
- Abu Hafs'Umar al-Nasafi	- Shamsuddin Muhammad Mirak al-Bukhari
- Mufaddal al-Abhari al-Harawi	- Shamsuddin Ashraf al-Samarqandi

Educational Development

1 A wide spread system of Primary schooling. Emergence of *Maktab* or *Kuttab* as 'universal primary school' both in the urban and the far-flung rural areas.
2 Foundation of the *Madrassah* as an institution of post-primary-cum-higher education.
3 The development of 'State'/Public Education'.
4 Female Education: The wide spread 'home school'.
5 Emergence of the Teaching Profession:

6 Development of pedagogy, theories of learning and teaching, curriculum and methodology. The two pioneering works in Central Asia:
(i) *Ta'lim al-Muta'llim Tariqat al-Ta'llum* (Education of the Learner and the Method of Learning) by Burhanuddin Zarnuji (a pupil of the author of *Hidayah*) by the turn of the 12th century A.D.
(ii) *Nahj al-Ta'llum*, of Jafar al-Bubakani al-Sindi (10th /16th century)
7 Production of text books, commentaries and made-easies.
8 Development of private and public (Mosque / Madrasah/Mausoleum) libraries as centres of self-education and research.
9 Encyclopaedic works on classification of knowledge.
10 By and large, the Islamic system of education in Central Asia, as elsewhere, was a teacher controlled and community supported system free from State control.

Sufis, Sufi Orders and Literature

1. All the four great Tariqas/Silsilas (Orders), the Suhrawardiya, the Qadiryah, the Chistiyah and the *Naqshbandiyah* had their great influence in Central Asia.
2. The founders of the *Suhrawardiyah* and the *Qadriyah* Orders belonged to Suhraward and Jilan by birth though buried in Baghdad. The illustrious saints of the two Orders in Central Asia, such as Shaikh Bahuddin Zakariya of Multan (d. 661), the pioneer of the Suhrawardiyyah Order in Sind and Hind, and the eminent Qadiri saints of Sind and Hind.
3. The *Chistiyah* Order, essentially a Central Asian Order, founded by Shaikh Muinuddin of Chisht from Seistan (d. Ajmer, India, 1235 A.D.).

- The Order flourished in Khurasan and Hind. Its eminent saints such as Shaikh Fariduddin Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakr (in Ajodhan); Shaikh Badruddin Ghaznavi and Shaikh Nizamuddin (in Delhi): Shaikh Ali Ahmad Sabir (in Kalyar); Khawaja Imaduddin and Khawaja Mohammad Sayyid Sughra (in Bilgram); Shaikh Mahmud and Shaikh Hamiduddin in Nahrwala / Anhalwlar, Gujarat).

4. The *Naqshbandiyah* Order, a Central Asian Order, was founded by Khawaja Bahauddin Muhammad Naqshband (of Qasr-i-Arifan near Bakhara), with a galaxy of great disciples of this Order.
5. Among other important Sub-Orders of 'Central Asia' was:

   The *Firdusiyah* Order. It was introduced in the Southern Region (Pakistan/India) by Shaikh Bahauddin of Samarqand (a disciple pf Shaikh Saifuddin Bakharzi).
6. *Important classical works* of the Central Asian Sufis such as follows:

   - The Risalah of Abul Qasim Qushairi (d. 1072 A.D.)
   - *Ihya al-Ulum* of Ghazzali
   - Kashf al-Mahjub of Abu Ali Hujwiri
   - *Tabaqat al-Sufiyah* of Abdul Rahman Sulami
   - *Fu'ad al-Fu'ad,* or the Discourses of Shaikh Nizamuddin of Delhi.

Cosmography, Zoology, Botony, Pharmacology / Pharmacy, Medicine

Cosmography/Cosmology

'The Wonders of Creation' (Ajai'b al-Makhluqat) by Qazwini.

'The Beginning of Creation' (Bada' al-khalq) by Abu Zaid Balkhi.

Zoology

'The Natural Properties of Animals' - (Taba'i-al-Hayawan) of Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi (of Marv) who flourished by the turn of the 11th century A.C.

Botany

- The Book of Plants' (Kitab al-Nabat) of Abu Hanifa Dainwari
- The work of Fudail b. Iyad al-Samarqandi.

Pharmacology

- al-Razi: *Kitab al-Saidalah* (Book of Pharmacology).
- Beruni: *Kitab al-Saidanah* (Book of Pharmacology).

Pharmacy

Principal and processes defined in Razi's *al-Hawi* and Ibn Sina's *al-Qanun*.

Medicine

The two great minds who developed the theoretical and the clinical dimensions of the 'Science of Medicine', Razi and Ibn Sina, both belonged to a Central Asian region.

1. *Razi* Abu Muhammad Zakariya. His encyclopedic work *al-Hawi* and another work *al-Mansuri* are important. He introduced clinical method and wrote a treatise on smallpox and measles.
2. *Ibn Sina.* His great contribution to the theory and practice of medicine. His all-prevading influence. His central position in the history of medicine.
3. *Post–Ibn Sina Period.* Significant contribution in all the Central Asian Regions. The vast medical literature produced in the different regions remains to be studied. As an example from the Southern Region, *Tibb-i-Sikandarshahi* by Sayyid Bahwah was a pioneering

work at synthesis between the 'Muslim Tibb system' and the 'Hindu Ayarvedic system'.

Chemistry and Alchemy

Among others, the contribution of the following:

- Jabir ibn Hayyan
- Beruni
- Abu Mansur Muwaffaq
- Tughrai
- Al Sufi
- Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Farabi
- Ibn Sina
- Abu'l-Hakim Muhammad al-Khawarzmi al-Kathi

Physics, Mechanics, Engineering

a) Medieval Aristotelian Physics...Atomistic View...Criticisms of Aristotelian Physics...Mechanics and Automatic Machines...Station of Rigid Bodies...Hydrostatics... SpecificGravity...Optics...Vacuum...Gases.
b) Gravitation, bodies pulled to the center of the Earth fully known to Beruni and his contemporaries.
c) Contribution of the following and others:

- Banu Musa Brothers
- Beruni
- Muzaffar al-Asfuzari
- A-lao-wa-ting (Muslim Military Engineer in Mongol Service)
- Farabi
- Ibn Sina
- Abdurrahman al-Kazvini
- I-ssu-ma-yin (Isma'il, Militry Engineer from Turkistan in Mongol Service)

Technology

a) Construction (buildings, bridges, towers)
b) Irrigation (Dams, Canals, Lifting of Water, Sindhian/Persian Wheel)
c) Cattle Breeding
d) Industry: Metallurgy, Weaponry, Glassware, Ceramics, Jewellery, Tug Making, Cloth Making, Leather Work, Coin Minting, Paper Making.

Astronomy/Astrology

The first translations from the Sanskrit astronomical works of Brahmagupta were made in the newly founded Muslim city of Mansurah (Sind, Pakistan) beginning from 117 A.H., (735 A.C.), i.e. almost a century before any translation work was undertaken in the Academy of Baghdad established by Abbasid Caliph Mamun (813-833 A.C.).

I. Practical experiments and observations marked a new development. Beruni's critical evaluation of Sanskrit and Greek sources led to further advancement, and a demarcation was made between Astrology and scientific/ mathematical / experimental Astronomy.
II. New astronomical instruments were developed. The development of a new type of astrolobe was described in *Mafatih-al-Ulum* of Khawazmi. Its accuracy increased by disengaging the arc of its quadrants, which permitted the numerical value of its arc to be read with maximum possible approximation.
III. Observatories were founded, and Ulugh Bey's observatory is particularly well known.
IV. (a) In the first phases of pre-Thirteenth century development, the following scientists played a pioneering role:

1. Habash al-Hasib al-Marwazi
2. Khalaf ibn 'Abdulmalik al-Marwarudhi
3. Farghani
4. 'Umar ibn Farrukhan al-Tabari
5. Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi
6. Abu Sahl Wayjan ibn Rustam al-Quhi
7. Abd al-Jalil al-Sijzi
8. Abu'l-Wafa al-Bazanjani
9. Abu Mahmud Hamid ibn Khidr
10. Abu Nasr Mansur ibn' Iraq
11. Beruni

12. Umar Khayyam
13. Abdurrahman al-Khazini
14. Mufaddal al-Abhari
15. Muzaffaruddin of Tus(d. 1213)

(b) In the second phase, after 13th century, the following astronomers played an important role:

1. Nasiruddin al-Tusi
2. Muhammad ibn Mahmud at-Tusi
3. 'Isa Tarjuman
4. Shamsuddin Muhammad Mirak al-Bukhari al-Harawi
5. Chaghmini
6. Ahmad ib 'Uthman al-Jurjani
7. Shamsuddin Ashraf al-Samarqandi
8. Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjani
9. Ghiyathuddin Jamshid al-Kashani
10. Ulugh Bey

Mathematics

In *Arithmetic*, *Algebra*, *Geometry*, *Trigonometry*, *Logarithm*, contributions of the following mathematicians / scientists were of a pioneering nature:

- Abdulhamid ibn Turk
- Abu Ja'far al-Razi
- Habash al-Hasib al-Marwazi
- Abu Sahl Wayjan Ibn Rustam al-Quhi
- Abd al-Jalil al-Sijzi
- Abu Nasr Mansur ibn Iraq
- Abu'l Wafa al-Buzanjani
- Beruni
- Muhammad Ibn Musa al-Khawarzmi
- Abu Mahmud Hamid Ibn Khidr al-Khujandi
- 'Umar Khayyam
- Abu Sa'id Muhammad al-Sijzi
- Shamsuddin Ashraf al-Samarqandi
- Ulugh Bey
- Ghiyathuddin Jamshid al-Kashani
- 'Ali Qushji
- Nasiruddin Tusi

Geodesy, Geology, Geography

I. *Geodesy*, Advance in geodesy came through the researches of Beruni and his contemporaries. Beruni's experiment at Fort Nandna (district Jhelum, Pakistan) described by him in *al-Qanum al-Mas'udi* and other works established the dimensions of the Earth.

II. *Geology*, Beruni's work on Precious Stones (Kitab al-Jamahir fi M'arafat al-Jawahir) is a significant contribution in this field.

III. *Mathematical Geography* achieved the status of a science in Beruni's *Tahqiq Nihayat al-Amakin*.

IV. In *Geography* and *Cartography*, Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarazmi, Jayhani, Muhammad ibn Mahmud at-Tusi, Beruni, al-Marwazi and others made significant contribution.

Musicology

1. Music was not a part of worship in Islam. The Muslim pioneers developed music as a part of Mathematical Science. Among others, the following were the great theorists in classical music:

- Avicenna
- Abdul Qadir of Maragha
- Avicena's pupil Ibn Zaila (d. 1048)
- Amir Khusraw of Dihli

2. Music traditions and musical instruments of Arabian, Iranian, Turkish and Monogolian origin as also of 'Sind' and 'Hind' were used to create new music norms and forms in the different Central Asian regions. A full appreciation of the advancement is yet to be made. The following works represent significant developments:

(i) *Jami'al-Alhan* ('The Comprehensive in Melodies') of Abd al-Qadir of Maragha who died (1433/34) in Herat.

(ii) *Bahjat al-Ruh* (Spirit's Delight) of Abd al-Moin b. Safi al-Din. This was translated into English by H.L. Rabino de Borgomele, and published in 1943 with brief introduction by H.G. Farmer. Persian translation by Mohammed Taqi Mayili, was printed in Tehran (1346 H/S).

3. Amir Khusraw of Dihli (1255-1330) was a genius who revolutionised the theory and practice of music in the Subcontinent. Besides his valuable references to music and musical instruments in his different works, the best

exposition of his views on music, which he calls a science (*Ilm*), are rhetorically propounded in his monumental work on Rhetoric, entitled *Rasa'il al-'I'Jaz* or *'I'jaz-i-Khusrawi*†

Amir Khusraw liberated the indigenous 'Hindu Music' from the confines of temples, blended it with Central Asian music and gave it the status of a secular art-form to be preformed in open assemblies. Thus, he laid the foundations of *Hindustani Music*.

Language Sciences

Great advancement was made in important aspects of 'Language Sciences' such as Linguistics, Lexicography, Rhetoric, Prosody and Grammer, and Syntax.

Linguistics: The following works were the pioneer ones.

1. Al-Tha'alabi: *Fiqh al-Lughat*
2. Ibn Faris al-Lughavi (d. 295 H):
   (i) *Fiqh al-Lughat* (ii) *al-Mujmal.*
3. Taftazani, Masud b. Umar (d. 791 H): *Sharh Talkhis al-Miftah*

Lexicography: The early important works:

1. Abu'Ubaid al-Harwai: *Kitab al-Gharibain*
   Al-Zamakhshari: (i) *Al-Fa'iq fi Gharib al-Hadih* and (ii) al-Mustaqsa fi al-Amthal
2. Mahmud al-Kashgari (d. 466 H) *al-Idrak* (Lexicography/Grammar?)
3. Al-Jauhiri (d, 393 H): *al-Sihah fi al-Lughah*

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† *See Baloch, N.A., Amir Khusraw's Discourse on Differentiation in the Fundamental And the Subsidiary Principles of Music*, the paper presented at the Amir Khusraw International Congress (700th Anniversary Celebrations), Islamabad (October 24-26), 1975.

The highest level of achievement in Lexicography was reached in the following works of Hasan al-Saghani of Lahore (577-650 H,):

- *al-'Ubab al-Zakhir wa al-Lubab al-Fakhir*
- *M'ujma al-Bahrain*
- *Al-Takmilah wa al-Silah*
- *Kitab al-A'dad*

Rhetoric: Zamakhshari's *Asas al-Balaghah* is an important work in this field.

Grammar and Syntax: Of the large number of works on Grammar and syntax, the following may be counted as the representative ones.

1. Zamakhshari: *al-Mufassal fi al-Nahv*
2. Ibn Faris al-Lughavi: *Maqaddamah fi al-Nahv*
3. Al-Farsi, Abu Ali al-Hasan (d. 377 H.): (I) *Idah fi al-Nahv* (ii) *al-Takmilah fi al-Tasrif* (iii) *Abyat al-I'irab.*
4. Ibn Hajib (646 H.): (i) *al-Kafiyah fi al-Nahv* (ii) *al-Idal Sharh al-Mufassal.*
5. Al-Farghani (d. 569 H.): *Shariq al-Anwar*

History and Historiography‡

I. History and Historiography progressed considerably under Islamic civilization in Central Asia. Except for

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‡ Some modern works on the subject:

- 'The Development of Arabic Historiography' *Journal of Semetic Studies*, III/373-87, 1958
- Storey, C.A.: *Persian Literature*, Vol. I Section-II, *fasc I, A & B* in general and *fasc. 2, C-L* (1936) Particularly dealing with the special histories of Persia and Central Asia and *fasc. 3,M* with histories of India (1939).
- Franz Resenthal: A History of Muslim Historiography, 2nd ed., E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1968.

the great Chinese records containing references to events in Central Asia (mainly in Chinese regions), no work on 'history' was produced during Pre-Islamic Period. That a vast amount of historical literature of varied dimensions, was produced in the Central Asian regions may be noted in such bibliographical works as under:

1. Ibn al-Jauzi: *al-Muntazam*
2. Al-Sakhawi: *al-I'lan bi-Taubikh*
3. Haji Khalifah: *Kashf al-Zunun*

II. A significant development was made in translation and use of languages, from Arabic to Persian and Turkish. With the translation of Tabari's Annals from Arabic into Persian by Alqami, Persian developed as main medium for historical writings in 'Central Asia'. The Arabic record of the conquest of Sind (712 A.D.) was translated into Persian under the title *Fath'nama* (613 H./1216). In effect this became the first truly historical work ever compiled in the Subcontinent.

III. A systematic development in Historiography was achieved in terms of categories, characteristics and methodology. All the main categories/forms of historical writing such as under were used:

(II) *Khabar* (Chronicle)
(III) *Sinin* (Annalistic)
(IV) *Dynastic*
(V) *Tabaqat (Categorical)*
(VI) *Ansab (Genealogical)*

The other history-oriented forms such as under became popular:

(VII) *Muktubat*
(VIII) *Malfuzat*
(IX) *Tadhkirah /Biography*
(X) *Memoirs*

(XI) *Astristic*
(XII) *Hikayat*

All the above forms were used in most of the Central Asian regions, and there is enough record to estimate the progress made in the development of a full-fledged science of Historiography. al-Razi in his *Hadaiq al-Anwar*, Ibn Farighun in his *Jawami' al-'Ulum*, Ibn Sina in his *Shifa*, Ibn Hajar in his *'Isaba* expressed important views on historiography.

In the following two works, historiography developed as a full-fledged discipline:

1. Al-Iji's Tuhfat al-Faqir etc. (800 H./1381-82)
2. Al-Sakhawi's al-II' an bi-Taubikh etc. (831-902 H/1427-97).

It may be concluded that the period of the flowering and flourishing of Islamic Civilization represented 'the age of achievement' in the history of civilizations in Central Asia. Only a few aspects of the intellectual excellence have been briefly touched above. The high level of achievement in industrial arts and crafts and in the different areas of Fine Arts – such as Literature, Poetry, Miniature Painting and Architecture – need more elaborate treatment. The architectural monuments of the Islamic period portray their past grandeur even in decay.

Though some general remarks have been made earlier, the factors responsible for 'the age of achievement' need further identification, explanation and analysis. Their impact and influence within the different regions, and all over Central Asia, as also their implications for the world civilization, remain to be studied in depth and assessed.

The factors such as the primacy of faith, centralized authority, peace, prosperity and liberal patronage, were of

paramount importance in building up a great civilization. Primacy of faith brought about self-discipline, purposeful activity, and a serious outlook on life. Under the umbrella of 'Organized Central Authority', vigorous cohesive human potential was developed through administrative, religious, educational and legal institutions. At the initial stage, the Caliphates represented the centralized authority responsible for common polity. Even after the Caliphs in Baghdad had lost their real power, the centrifugal significance of the Caliph's institution continued to symbolize the concept of centralized authority. After weakening of the Caliphate and the consequent decentralization of power, strong Provincial capitals of the powerful Sultans reinforced central authority, and promoted adaptation and development of administrative and institutional structure in the image of local genius and local conditions. This minimized conflicts, promoted peace and prosperity, and motivated a generous recognition for talent and creative work.

There was tremendous increase in mobility and communication, so that the ethnic and linguistic barriers were either broken or substantially weakened. The eras of geographical, ethnological, political and cultural isolation came to an end, and the Turk and the Tartar/Mongol kinsmen were brought closer as members of the Islamic community. Also the Iranian, Turanian, and the Indic elements were joined under Islamic polity. First the Samanids and then the great Seljuqs (particularly Sultan Sanjar (1117-1157 A.C) had succeeded in uniting Persia and the trans-Oxus countries under their stable and secure domain.

With spread of education, a high premium was put on knowledge and learning. This brought about quick and widest possible exchange of ideas and information, and

motivated study and research which extended the frontiers of knowledge.

It may be observed that Islamic Civilization in Central Asia represented only one specific dimension of the contemporary Islamic Civilization. Its other dimensions were (i) The Middle Eastern. (ii) The Far Eastern (iii) The Southern (Sind & Hind), (iv) The North African, and (v) The Andalusion. An analysis and comparative study of these different aspects is likely to reveal their common denominator as also their more distinctive features.

XV

SOME LESS KNOWN DIALECTS OF 'KOHISTAN'.*

'Kohistan' literally means a 'mountainous region' and, as such, more than one areas in Pakistan are known by this general name of 'Kohistan'. The hilly tract extending from Karachi northward up to Sehwan is called 'Kohistan' by the people of Sindh. Again the mountainous region covering the western part of the Hazara district, extending northwards along the Indus as well as west-wards across Swat towards Dir and Chitral, is all 'Kohistan'. Of this area, the region extending along the Indus is called the 'Indus Kohistan', while the country around the Upper Swat Valley of Kalam may conveniently be called as 'Swat Kohistan'. Presently, I will refer to the dialects of 'Swat Kohistan', which are comparatively less known among the dialects of Kohistan.

The writer does not claim an intimate knowledge of the dialects of 'Swat Kohistan' but proposes, by this presentation, to invite attention to the great need of studying the languages of this region. Arabic and Persian, being the repositories of the common cultural heritage of Pakistan, would continue to be studied by the Pakistani scholars, but the languages spoken by the people, being the

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* Muhammad Shahidullah Felicitation Volume (Ed. Muhammad Enamul Haq), Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca.

primary media for expressing their thoughts and feelings, provide the basis for the rich cultural variety and the very foundation for national literature. Of these languages, the less known dialects need special attention because of their philological and anthropological importance and also because of their importance in local folklore and literature.

The speeches of Kohistan are important both from philological as well as literary point of view. If some local scholar undertakes to collect folk poems composed in these tongues, his efforts will be amply rewarded. The romance of Aman Maluk of Kishkar with Khush Begum and the love poems composed by Aman Maluk, seem to have started almost a chain reaction through Kohistan and, since then, a number of actual love stories have provided interesting topics for verbal tales as well as inspiring themes for poetry. Indeed, Swat Kohistan can as well be described as the 'land of lovers', and almost every lover was a poet in the bargain. I will quote some verses from *Torvali* and *Kalami* to illustrate the poetic genius of the mountain bards, so realistic and true to life.

Verse from Torvali: Poet Lal yearned to meet his lady love 'Parvasha', cried for her, and traversed long jungle tracks to seek the blessings of the Saint Pir Babà at Buner, but without any results. Says he in one of his poems:

مین آبَن گے دِنجُو گے سَوَد دِگ خَلِیگا
تیز جیلا چھینو، بیدا نا پَد پَرواشا

I made a long robe for myself to strut about in it
(intoxicated with love)
It was all torn to pieces in bushes, yet I could n't
meet Parvasha.

Verse from Kalami: About the nature of love, poet

Dador Khan says:

دِینا شِخانے تے ویڑیا لدَ
مَئے آج دیدن مُلے نہ لیدا

Other lovers rather got it (love) cheap
Today I ca'nt see my friend although I pay the price.

The same poet describes how his beloved is being strictly guarded. Even the door of the house is being kept locked by striking fast a nail from outside the door.

دَرویٹ مانکِ ٹو کُوت، نہ چھورن یار کے
مُشیدے مین بے سَترے بَئے تا

He strikes the nail from outside the door to bar exit:
The poor rival has kept my beloved safe from me.

The Less Known Dialects of Kohistan

The northern region of Pakistan extending over 'Gilgit and Kashmir, the Indus and Swat Kohistan, Chitral and Kafiristan' has been known throughout the long past as 'Dardistan', and hence the languages spoken in this extensive region were called by the general name of 'Dardic Languages'. When they were studied for the first time under the *Linguistic Survey of India* by Grierson during the first quarter of the 20th century, he classified the 'Dardic' languages into three main groups, viz. the *'Kafir,* the *Kho-war,* and the *Dard.* According to this classification, *Shina* (the language of Gilgit), *Kashmiri* and *Kohistani* form the Dard *Group.*[1] *Kohistani* has been described as "the original language of the Indus and Swat Kohistan" which is now divided into "several dialects". Of its "several dialects" only *Garwi, Torwali, Chilis,* and *Maiyan* have been mentioned and described in the Survey (vol. VIII, Part-II).

Beside the above four main dialects, the remaining Kohistani dialects have not been studied so far. Here is a challenge to the student of philology and linguistics. These 'several' Kohistani speeches present a kaleidoscopic pattern so far as their geographical distribution is concerned. Although some of the contiguous dialects are mutually intelligible to the neighbours, it appears as if due to physical or social barriers from the time of their early settlements, the people of each isolated valley, or a group of contiguous valleys, came to preserve and develop their own distinct tongues.

Of the 'several' less known dialects, the present writer attempted to study particularly the *Gujro,* and also became partly acquainted with the *Kalami.* The geographical position of these two and some other dialects which are distributed along the Upper Swat Valley be briefly described. It may, however, be pointed out that *Pashtu* is the *lingua franca* of Swat Kohistan:

(1) *Torvali.* The area of Torvali begins from the town of Madain (Swat State), extending northward on both sides of the Swat river to midway between Mankhial village and the small Isret river which falls into the Swat river on the right hand side. Thus, starting from Madyan, the town of Bahrain and many other villages such as Kedam, Garrhai, Cham, Kala-Lai and Mankhial as well as the adjacent neighbourhoods on both sides of the Swat river speak *Torvali.*

(2) *Gujro.* It is the language of the Pishmal Valley which is sandwiched between the Isret and the Karan Dukhi-the two small tributaries of the Swat river, on the right hand side. Pishmal valley is almost entirely inhabited by the Gujars who speak *Gujro.* Gujars scattered elsewhere on the mountain

slopes flanking the Swat river, also speak *Gujro,* but the Pishmal valley is the home area of *Gujro.*

(3) *Kalami.* Kalam valley which is the heart of Kohistan, is the main area of the Kalami language. It is also spoken, along with Pashtu, on the left hand side of the Swat river, opposite to the Pishmal valley.

(4) *Thal-Lamti.* This language takes its name from Thal which is the main town of the Dir State. It is also known as Dir-wali. It is spoken along the western part of Sawat-Kohistan.

(5) *Khandia.* It is the language of the eastern part of 'SwatKohistan'. The Baaten mountain divides the *Khandia* speaking population from the Kishkari area.

Philological Importance

In absence of any systematic studies subsequent to the completion of the *Linguistic Survey of India,* conclusions arrived at by Grierson, regarding the nature and origin, philology and grammar of these Dardic languages and dialects, are of basic importance for any further study of the subject. Grierson made it clear that 'Dardic' was only a general name which was being extended, for the sake of convenience, to all the *Aryan* languages spoken in the region of Dardistan.[2] On the basis of philological evidence, Grierson pointed out that there was an unmistakable philological link between Sindhi, Lahnda and the Dardic languages.' This conclusion of Grierson has hardly been modified or advanced by later research. We may attempt to explore the nature of this philological link, mainly to determine whether *Sindhi* and *Lahnda* are derived from Sanskrit or they have developed along with the Dardic languages[3] independently as a distinct *'Indus Group'.*

Grierson supported his view regarding an early philological link between Sindhi and Lahnda on the one hand and the Dardic languages on the other, by pointing out their common characteristics of retaining *'t'* in the past-tense and *'l'* in the past-participle. For instance, from the 'verb to drink', the past tense in Sindhi will be *peeto* (he drank), and in Lahnda it will be *peeta.* Some other examples in Sindhi are *warto* (he got), *sarto* (he became satisfied), *parto* (he made up the differences, or he was entrusted to) etc. Examples in Lahnda are: *seeta* (he sew), *keeta* (he did) etc. It may also be pointed out that in the *Gujro* of Pishmal valley, we find the same *t* preserved in the past tense. For instance, from the verb *di-ana* or *di-na* (to give), past-tense will be *di-th.* The one typical peculiarity of Dardic is that the letter *t* when it comes between two vowels is not elided, but is kept without change. In all the Indo-Aryan languages and Indian Prakrits such a *t* first became *d* and then disappeared.

For example in Hindi-Urdu, we have these past tenses as *piya* (he drank), *kiya* (he did) etc. The past-participle in the Dardic languages, e.g. the *Maiyan* dialect of Kohistan and also occasionally the *Shina* language of Gilgit, retain '1'. Thus in *Maiyan,* past-participle from verb *'kut'* (strike) will be *'kut-ag-il'* (struck). In Sindhi also we find every past-participle ending invariably in *l,* e.g. *pee-tal* (drunk), *ka-yal* (done), *mar-iy-al* (struck or killed) etc. Although this *'l'* exists in the outer Indo-Aryan languages, "we do not find anything like this in the inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages".[4]

Apart from these typical philological similarities

pointed out by Grierson, we find some very close linguistic similarities between Sindhi and some of these Dardic dialects of 'Swat Kohistan'. For instance, there is a striking resemblance between some prepositions of Sindhi and Torvali. In Torvali, we have *'tu chi'* (تو چي) which in old Sindhi is *toji* (تو جي) meaning 'yours'. In Torvali, we will say *Pir Baba gay'* (پير بابا گے) which in Sindhi will be *'Pir Baba Khay'* (پير بابا کھے), meaning 'to Pir Baba' (Urdu: پير بابا کو).

Between Sindhi and Gujro, there is surprisingly such a close resemblance both in terminology and sentence structure that it appears as if Gujro is just another dialect of Sindhi. The following common characteristics are typical:

(a) Both in Sindhi and Gujro, infinitives end in *n* or *nn* and are followed by small vowels (but not by long vowels as we have in Hindi or Urdu):

English	Sindhi	Gujro	Urdu
To do	ka-ra-nnu (ڪرڻ)	ka-ra-na (ڪرَنَ)	kar-na کرنا
To drink	pi-ya-nnu (پيڻ)	pi-na (پينَ)	pina (پينا)
To give	di-ya-nnu (ڏيڻ)	di-na, or di-a-na (دينَ، ديئنَ)	day-na (دينا)
To sit	we-ha-nnu (ويهڻ)	be-sa-na (بيسَنَ)	baithna, (بيٹھنا)

(b) Both in Sindhi and Gujro, words signifying masculine gender end in *o* (و), while those denoting feminine gender end in *ee* (ي).

English	Sindhi	Gujro
a horse	ghorro (گھوڙو)	ghorro (گھوڑو)
a mare	ghorree (گھوڙي)	ghorree (گھوڑي)
a dog	kuto (ڪُتو)	kuto (ڪتو)
a bitch	kutee (ڪُتي)	kutee (ڪتي)
a he-cat	bilo (ٻلو)	bilo (بلو)
a rupee	rupayo (رپيو)	rupayo (رپيو)
a roof	kottho (ڪوٺو)	kottho (کوٹھو)
a thick eye-brow	bhiroonto (ڀرونٽو)	bhuroonto (بُھرونٹو)
the inside of the house	dero (ديرو)	dero (ديرو)
a person	janno (جڻو)	jano (جنو)
a cot	manjo (منجو)	manjo (منجو)

(c) There is also a close resemblance between the names for numerals. It is particularly noteworthy that both Sindhi and Gujro have retained *r* (ر), in *sorahn* (sixteen) which has changed into *'l'* in other languages (e. *g. solah* in Hindi/Urdu).

English	Sindhi	Gujro
one	hiku (هِڪُ)	eka (ايک)
two	ba (ٻ)	do (دو)

three	tre (ٽري)	trai (ترئي)
four	char (چار)	char (چار)
five	panja (پنج)	panja (پنج)
six	chhaha (چه)	chhiha (چهيه)
seven	sat-ta (سَتَ)	sat-ta (سَتَ)
eight	attha (اَٺه)	attha (اٺه)
nine	nava/naon (نوَ/نئون)	naon (نئون)
ten	daha (ڏهَ)	daha (دَهَ)
eleven	yarahn (يارهن)	ya-rahn (يارهن)
twelve	barahn (بارهن)	ba-rahn (بارَهن)
thirteen	te-rahn (تيرهن)	te-rahn (تيرهن)
fourteen	cho-dhahn (چوڏهن)	chao-dhan (چوڏهن)
fifteen	pand-rahn (پندرهن)	pand-rahn (پندرهن)
sixteen	sorahn (سورهن)	so-rahn (سورهن)
seventeen	sat-rahn (سترهن)	sata-rahn (ستارهن)
eighteen	ar-rrahn (ارڙهن)	attha-rahn (اٺهارهن)
nineteen	oonneeh (اوٽيه)	uneeh (اُنيه)

twenty	weeh (ويه)	beeh (بيه)

d) Both Sindhi and Gujro have the same sentence structure and almost the same terminology. The following are the typical examples of some of the phrases and sentences in the two speeches.

English	Sindhi	Gujro
good condition	changu halu (چنگو حالُ)	chango hal (چنگو حال)
I saw	moon dithho (مُون ڏِٺو)	men ditto (مين ڏٺهو)
I had seen you somewhere	moon tokhay kithhe ditho ho (مون تو کي ڪٿي ڏٺو هو)	men to kithhe ditho thho (مين تو ڪٿهي ڏٺهو تهو)
rupee is in the box	rupayo sandooq men piyo ahey (رپيو صندوق ۾ پيو آهي)	rupayo sandooq man piyo hay (رپيو صندوق مان پيو هئي)
you may tie the string	dhago badhi jan (ڏاڳو بڌجان)	dhago badhe jan (دهاڳو بَدهيجان)

(e) There are many nouns which are common to the vocabularies of Sindhi and Gujro (e.g. *meenhun* (مِينهُن) =rain; kandhi (ڪنڌِي) in Sindhi and *kandh* (ڪنڌ) in Gujro =wall; seem (سيم)= a piece of pasture), both in Sindhi and Gujro.

This close philological relationship between Sindhi and the Dardic dialect Gujro suggests a common historic past of their development. Grierson does not recognize that either Sindhi or Lahnda is derived from any Dardic language but admits the foreign Dardic

influence on these languages.[5] It may be pointed out that in view of the philological and phonetic peculiarities of Sindhi, its geographical isolation, its distance from the Sanskrit orbit of influence, and the continuous subjection of the lower Indus Valley to the political influence and population migrations from the West rather than from the East, it is yet to be established whether Sindhi is derived directly and only from Sanskrit.[6] The distinct nature of Sindhi, Lahnda, and the Dardic languages (of Kashmir, Kohistan and Gilgit) rather suggest that they owe their origin to the common stock of the local Indus Tongues spoken at the time of ancient settlements all along the Indus.

It has already been accepted that *Paisachi,* the mother of the Dardic languages, "was a very ancient language, a sister, and not a daughter of the form of speech which ultimately developed as literary Sanskrit".[7] Sanskrit developed later, after the Aryans had left behind their early settlements on the Indus and migrated eastward and began a new phase of their settled life there. Sanskrit influenced the *Indus languages* (Sindhi, Lahnda, Kashmiri etc.) in later times, mainly through some form of Pali Prakrit. However despite this influence, these languages have preserved their early group-affinity and also their philological and phonetic originality to the present times.

REFERENCES

1. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, part. II. p.2.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol.1, part I, pp.139-40.
4. *Ibid.*, pp.139-40.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 141, ft.n. 1
6. This subject has been discussed in details by the writer in *"A Brief History of Sindhi Language"*, the *Tuhfa-e-Larkana,* Hyderabad, 1962.
7. Cf. Grierson *Linguistic Surrey of Iudia,* Vol. III, part-II, pp.3-4.

XVI

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SINDHI LANGUAGE.*

Sindhi is an ancient language of the Indo-Aryan family. For long it was believed that it was derived from Sanskirt, but modern research has discredited the theory that the vernaculars of the Subcontinent including Sindhi are all derived from Sanskirt. For the first time in 1950, the writer had in a Paper (presented at the Seventeenth Sindhi Adabi Conference held at Larkana) assembled evidence to the effect that Sindhi was not derived from Sanskirt. These arguments were further elaborated in "The Brief History of Sindhi Language" (Hyderabad, 1961). In conclusion it was stated:

> The modern Sindhi is an Indo-Aryan language which developed in the lower Indus Valley of Sindh. It is not derived from Sanskrit but its origin goes back to the proto-Vedic Prakrits spoken by the people in the pre-Sanskrit era.

The language represented in the pictographic seals of Moen-jo-daro belongs to the Pre-Aryan/Pre-Vedic times. This was the most developed language of the Indus Valley in the Pre-historic period. It has not yet been deciphered finally, but two presumptions may be recorded: firstly, in view of the fact that similar pictographic seals have been

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*'Sindh Quarterly' Journal of Shah Abdul Latif Cultural Society, Karachi, Vol.I, 1975, No.1.

discovered outside the Subcontinent, in Mespotamia, this ancient language of Moen-jo-daro might have a relationship with the ancient Babylonian/Semetic languages; secondly that since the Moen-jo-daro city flourished prior to the advent of the Aryans, it could belong to the Dravidian era and might be of Dravidian/proto-Dravidian origin.

However that may be, there is a gap of more that two millennium between the 'language from' represented by the Moen-jo-daro seals and the earliest possible evidence regarding the existence of the modern Sindhi language. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to establish historical link between the 'Ancient Indus Valley Language' of Moen-jo-daro' and 'The Modern Sindhi Language' as it is known to us today.

Though references to the country of Sindh and the language of Sindh go back to early times, the more authentic mention of the 'Sindhi' language (historically related to the present form of Sindhi) and of Sindhi words, proper names of persons and places in Sindh, and of the forms of Sindhi script and Sindhi numerals date back to 8-10 centuries A.D., with a possible stretch of time extending back to the 5th century A.D. The whole of this record has come down to us as a result of the writings and researches of the early Muslim scholars. Amongst them, Jahiz (d. 912), Ibn Khurdadhbeh (868/69), Mada'ini (d. 225H./840), Mas'udi (d. 946), Baladhuri (d. 982), Yakubi (d. circa. 900), Ibn Hauqal (d. 977), Istakhari (d. circa. 955), al-Nadim (d.995), Beruni (d.1051) and Yaqut (d. 1229) may be counted as the more distinguished ones who have contributed substantially to our knowledge of the history, language and general culture of Sindh up to the mid 13th century A.D.

Al-Nadim was the first to write on Sindhi script and the Sindhi numerical forms. But the place of honour goes to Beruni, who left a wealth of material on history and geography of Sindh, Sindhi era, and Sindhi language with its rich and varied vocabulary, in his two works, the 'Book on India' and the 'Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica'. The former he wrote in 1030 A.D. and the latter in 1050/51 A.D. Thus, the record on Sindhology left by Beruni is more than 900 years old.

It is from his 'Book on India' that we learn for the first time that in his days (early 11th century) the 'Saindhav Script' (the present Arabic-Sindhi script) was current in (the city and province of) Mansurah (7 miles S.E. of Shahdadpur). In this voluminous work, Beruni has recorded numerous words from the commonly understood local language (as distinct from Sanskrit). These words, in their meaning and pronunciation, are nearer to the Sindhi words than to the words of any other language[1]. Some of these words are typical of the Sindhi vocabulary current in the rural areas of Sindh to this day. For example:

توهر tuhar = Sindhi ٿوهر (thhuhar), a plant of the species of *Lacteria*[2].

رمر ramar = Sindhi رمڙ (ramarru), a herd of animals.[3]

درب drab = Sindhi ڊربُ drabhu[4], a coarse Sindhi grass.

The fresh evidence on the importance of Sindhi language and its rich vocabulary, however, comes from Beruni's "Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica" (*Kitab-al-Saidanah fi al-Tibb*). The book contains a copious introduction on pharmacology followed by the bulk of the text on materia medica in which the names of herbs and things of medical values (simple) are arranged

alphabetically and described professionally. So far as nomenclature is concerned, the name by which a simple was more commonly known at that time in professional circles is given first, and then its equivalents are listed from different other languages.

Beruni was a linguist of exceptional ability. He knew not only some of the major languages but also the local dialects and local usages. Thus, he would often add the 'local name' by which a simple was then being called say by the townsmen of Ghaznah, Balkh, Bukhara or Multan; or by the people of Kirman, Seistan, Sughdiana or Khwarazm. But from the works of the earlier authors which are quoted by Beruni (and his associate al-Nahsha'i), it would appear that the more common practice was to give equivalents particularly from those major languages in which the knowledge of pharmacology and materia medica had advanced, and hence their terminology had acquired an international status among the professional circles. Among such languages were the classical Greek/Roman and Syriac, the more modern Arabic and Persian, and the two important languages of Indic origin, viz. the 'Sindhian' (*al-Sindiyat*) and the 'Indian' (*al-Hindiyyat*). *Al-Sindiyat* was the language of Sindh, while *al-Hindiyat* represented an amulgum of the other Indic tongues, including Sanskrit and the contemporary provincial media of the 10th/11th century.

In Beruni's "Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica" as many as seventy equivalents from Sindhi and double that number from the 'Indian' (languages) are cited. This indicates that till the mid-eleventh century A.D., Sindhi had acquired a professional status in the area of pharmacoloy which no other single tongue of any other part of the Subcontinent had achieved.

Though 70 equivalents are specifically noted as *Sindhian*, there are a number of other names which though referred to as '*Indian*', are today found to be common to Sindhi and the other Hindustani tongues (particularly in the original Hindi base of Urdu): for example: *Samandar Phin* (Sindhi سمندر ڦين), *Khaturi* or *Khasturi* (کٿوري), *Adrak* (ادرک), *Sundh* etc. Of the 70 'Sindhian' equivalents, 43 are citied on the authority of Bishr, while the remaining 27† are the contribution of Beruni himself and others. Bishr b. Abdul Wahhab al-Fazari was a scholar who flourished in the 4th century A.H. He had a specialized knowledge of the pharmacological vocabulary of 'Sindhi', as is evident from quotations from his book "*Tafasir al-Adviyyah*" cited by Beruni. Probably, he himself had been in Sindh, because at one place he 'quotes a name on the authority of the "people of Sind"[5]

The Sindhi equivalents given by Beruni were picked up by him directly from the native speakers of Multan and Mansurah. Under (زيتون) and (طلخشفوقه), he quotes the names which were used by the people of Multan. Under (کروه), he quotes an apothecary of Multan. Under (الغضف), he says that "the people of al-Mansurah told him.....", a reference which strongly suggests that Beruni had been in Sindh.

Of the 70 Sindhian equivalents noted in *Kitab al-Saidanah*, some have gone out of vogue since Beruni wrote, due to the decline in the practice of Pharmacy and

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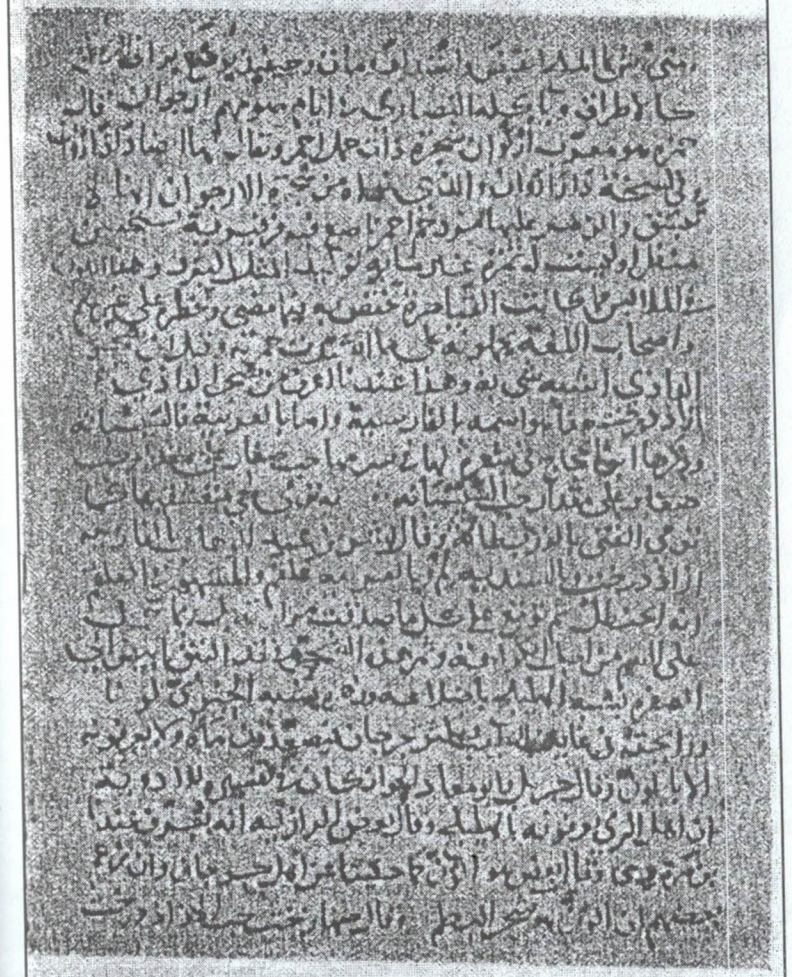
† These counts are based on the study of the manuscripts of *Kitab al-Saidanah*, particularly the oldest one (originally of the Qushun lu Oglu Collection now preserved in the Public Library of Bursa (Turkey). The book has now been published by the Hamdard National Foundation, Pakistan (Karachi 1973) and is available for a more detailed study.



و قال بشر بن عبدالوهاب الفارسية "از اد درخت" و بالسندية "ليم"

According to Bishr b. Abdul Wahab, the tree known in Persian as *azad-drakht* is Sindhi '*lim*'.

A page from the oldest manuscript (678 A.H.) of Al-Beruni's *Kitab al-Saidanah fi al-Tibb* belonging to the original collection of Qushun lu Oglu now preserved in the Public Library of Bursa (No. 149), Turkey.

Materia Medica in Sindh during the following centuries. As such they are not obtained in the current Sindhi vocabulary. Some, though still a part of the professional vocabulary, cannot be identified due to the technical nature of the terminology. A number of words can, however, be identified as being current in Sindhi to this day (e.g. جوانڻ، منگ، ليمو etc.).

Some of the 'word forms' suggest generalization which are relevant to the development of Sindhi through the past centuries. For example:

a) In Beruni's times (i.e. 10th/11th centuries A.D.), and as is now, some words were common to both Sindhi and Hindi vocabularies, but in some cases the same word was used for two different things. For instance, the Sindhi word for (زرنيخ) was هڙتال (as it is now), but the contemporary Hindi word هڙتال was then used for زنجار .

b) At one place, a Sindhi equivalent, recorded on Bishr's authority, is "جاماها". The current pronunciation, in the same form, will be ڊراماها (i.e. ڊراماهو). If Bishr had given the pronunciation correctly, it may be presumed that the pronunciation of some Sindhi words have changed since the 10th century A.D.

c) Under (كمون), Beruni explains that it is originally a Greek / Syriac word, and that in the 'Indian' it is called "جيرهه". He also quotes Bishr who, however, says that in the 'Indian' it is called "اجاجي" while in Sindhi it is called "جيرو".[6] This suggests that even one thousand years back (as today), a class of masculine nouns in Sindhi terminated in the long vowel o.

d) Under (آزاددرخت), Beruni quotes Bishr who says that the Sindhi word for this tree is "لِم" (sic.). At present, the standard pronunciation is نم, but in many rural areas

(particularly in the Upper Dadu and the Upper Nawabshah districts, as also in the Larkana district), the tree is still called 'لِم'. This suggests that the original Sindhi pronunciation was لِم and not نم .

The latest date for the Sindhi vocabulary which is supplied by Bishr may be fixed approximately as 1000 A.D., i.e. these words were current in Sindhi even prior to 1000 A.D. The latest date for the remaining vocabulary contributed by Beruni (and others) may be fixed half a century later, i.e. these words were current in Sindhi prior to 1050 A.D.

REFERENCES

1 Cf. Edward Sachau: *Alberuni's India*, 1910, London, Vol, II:399.

2 From which milk flows when cut. It is found in plenty in the hilly region between Hyderabad and Karachi, and elsewhere.

3 The original words are كثره الحيوان المسمي برمر (text, Hyd. Dn., p.420) which Sachau translated "The multitude of animals called bhramara" (II/92). He mistook (ب + رمر) for برمر .

4 Ibid, text p.453, & Eng. Tr. II/130.

5 *Kitab al-Saidanah* under (ماسقيل), referring to a kind of wild onion, Bishr says: the people of Sindh call it 'قويا بصل'. Probably he was told 'it is گويا بصر', meaning 'as if a بصر' (as if an onion). It is an onion like route of a shrub which grows in the rainy monsoon season. It is called 'jhangli basal' (جهنگلي بصر), i.e. 'wild onion'.

6 The Mss. reading is جيروا, wherein the *alif* seems to be an error by the scribe.

XVII

MAULANA RUMI TO SHAH ABDUL LATIF.*

Maulana Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi was born in Balkh and died in Qania (Turkey) in 672 H (5th of Jumada-II)/1273 A.D. His monumental work MASNAVI attained international recognition as a great book of all times. How Rumi's teachings, through Masnavi, spread far and wide in all directions may be seen how, four centuries later, Masnavi influenced the renowned poet Shah Abdul Latif in Sindh (Pakistan). Shah Abdul Latif (hereafter Shah Latif) died in 1165 H.(14th of Safar)/1752. His compositions, in Sindhi, were compiled in RISALO (Poetic Compendium) which has been recognized as a unique work of highest order in thought and poetry. This recognition, however, remained confined within Sindh since he had composed in his mother tongue , the Sindhi language.

A study of Masnavi and Risalo highlights aspects of parallelism between the two. As 'Masnavi in Persian means the Masnavi of Rumi, so also Risalo in Sindhi means the Risalo of Shah Abdul Latif. Higher concepts and meanings are the common denominator between the two. Masnavi is seen by scholars as 'Quran in Persian', while Shah Latif had himself addressed the scholar:

These which you consider as mere *bayts* (verses)
Are the *ayat* (of the Quran) to lead the mind to Beloved.

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* The subject was first introduced at the International Mevalana Seminar at Ankara, Turkey, December 15-17, 1973.

The Sufi poet Qadir Bakhsh 'Bedil' of Rohri in Sindh (d.1289 H.) was the first to cite verses, in his (Persian) book "Panj Ganj"[1]., from both Masnavi and Risalo, having a common bearing on at least 40 different points of thought. As Maulana Rumi and Shah Latif were concerned, each in his own way, with such important issues as human existence, ultimate reality, Tauhid, love, self suffering etc., some similarity in their views was inevitable.[2] But the coincidence in some aspects is so very significant that Sorley in his thesis on Shah Abdul Latif hastened to clarify that "Shah Abdul Latif is no mere imitator of Jalaluddin Rumi. He is actually expressing his own ideas"[3].

The earliest copies of Maulana Rumi's Masnavi were transcribed within 3 or 4 years of his death (672AH.).It is generally agreed that soon after the first copies became available, their partial or entire texts spread in all directions. That was during the seventies of the 13th century A.D. Probably Rumi's name and fame and some extracts from Masnavi reached Sindh and Multan during the life time of the Suhrawardi Shaykh Bahauddin Zakarya while Maulana was still alive.

Shaykh Bahauddin Zakariya was known as an eminent 'Saint of Sind'; his contemporary Shaykh Fariduddin Ganj-e-Shakar used to call Multan and Sindh as 'the territories of Bahauddin Zakariya'. Shaykh Bahauddin died in 661 H. 1262 A.D., about 11 years before the demise of Maulana Rumi. On his death, the Shaykh's disciple and son-in-law, Fakhruddin Ibrahim Iraqi, who had been in Multan for some 20 years having joined the Shaykh's circle in 641 H., left Multan and Sindh and reached Qonia, via Makkah. He lived in Qonia for sometime and had frequent meetings with Maulana as confirmed by Aflaki in his *Manaqib al-Arifin.*

What views were exchanged in those meetings? No written account has been left, and nothing can be said with certainty. Yet, most probably, Maulana inquired from Iraqi, or Iraqi took the initiative to inform Maulana, about the countries commonly known as Sind and Hind in those days and about the spiritually advanced Sufis there. There is plenty of indirect evidence to confirm this. Sind and Hind have come under frequent reference in Masnavi, and it is also obvious that the cultural difference between 'Sind' and 'Hind' was known to Maulana. Citing the example of the two differing cultures, he underlined his main theme of the unity of mankind: that is, every one to be happy in his own home and love his own language, and yet live in peace and unity with one another. Said he:

The Sindhi idiom is praiseworthy for the people of Sind,
And the Hindi idiom for the people of Hind:
You came here to foster unity,
You came not to create disunity.

In his *Fih ma Fih al-Ma'arif wa al-Haqa'iq,* Maulana's reference to a 'man of fragrance in Sind' would appear to be the reminiscent of what Iraqi might have told him about Shaykh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan. Says Maulana:

"Men have left their own country, their fathers and mothers, their household and kinsmen and families, and have journeyed from Hind to Sind, making boots of iron until they were cut to shreds, happy to counter a man having the fragrance of the other world".

It is very likely that after his meetings with Maulana, Iraqi wrote back to the Shaykh's son, Sadruddin Arif in Multan, about Maulana and his Masnavi which had become the centre of attention in Qonia. Such a presumption is strongly supported by the fact that Iraqi had maintained his

correspondence with Multan. Already Iraqi had composed a poem in praise of Sadruddin Arif during his pilgrimage at Makkah in response to a letter he had received from Multan. If this be so, the learned disciples and companions of Shaykh Sadrudddin Arif in Multan and Sindh became familiar with the name of Maulana and his Masnavi during the last decade of Maulana's own life time (662-672 H./I263-1273).

The next early information about Maulana came to Sind /Hind from Ahmad Rumi, a disciple of Maulana Rumi, who travelled from Qonia to the Subcontinent. His first important book (in Persian prose and verse) was *Daqa'iq al-Haqa'iq*. In the introduction, he gives his own name, professes to be a disciple of Maulana and proposes to explain Maulana's teachings. Each of the eighty chapters of Daqa'iq al-Haqa'iq opens with an *ayat* or *hadith* which is explained and concluded with a quotation from Masnavi. What is more important for consideration is that Ahmad went as far as Awaz (i.e. Awadh in Hindostan, which was the principality as well as its capital)[4], stayed there for long, and composed this work there in 720 H. (1320)[5]. Until that year, he had been travelling around[6]; this would mean that he had left his home country, Ard-i-Rum, by about 670 H., that is two years before Maulana's death. In case he travelled straight to the Subcontinent, he should have reached either Sindh or the Peshawar Region (the two main gateways) within the next two years. He was likely to have been in the present territories of Pakistan for quite some time before travelling to Delhi and further on to Awadh. That was during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Balban (664-686 H.), and he stayed on until the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah-I of the Tughluq House in the year 720 H. (1320 A.D.), when he completed his *Daqa'iq al-Haqa'iq*. As Ahmad Rumi quotes Maulana's Masnavi, some learned

men in Sind and Hind became acquainted with Masnavi from him.

Now if Ahmad Rumi's 'Awaz' is Awadh/Oudh, he had come to Hindostan. That is possibly the reason why more than one manuscript of his book 'Daqa'iq' are found in this part of the world. I myself had a manuscript of it in my collection, perhaps the earliest one transcribed in 725 A.H., only five years after its completion in 720 A.H. Being an important manuscript it carried the signature of Emperor Shah Jehan on its cover leaf.[7]

Another evidence of influence of Maulana's Masnavi in the Subcontinent during the same period may be seen in the Masnavi of Bu Ali Shah Qalandar, an eminent saint of the Qalandariyah Order who died at Panipat on 14 Ramazan 723 H., (1324 A.D.). He quotes from Masnavi. Thus, about fifty years after Maulana's death (672.H), his name and verses from Masnavi had reached Panipat. Some three decades later, one finds saint Sharafuddin of Maner (near Patna) quoting from Maulana's Masnavi in his Epistles (748/1347).

The news of Maulana and his Masnavi had also reached the Chishtiyah circles in Delhi early enough, by the end of the 8th century A.H. It is possible that Ahmad Rumi and his *Daqa'iq al-Haq'aiq* were responsible for it. But the first impressions of Maulana were not favourable in these circles. Khwaja Muhammad Gesudaraz (d. Gulburg, Deccan, 825 H.), an eminent saint of the Chishtiyah Order, was among the earliest to be acquainted with verses from Masnavi. This was when the Khwaja was still living in Delhi, i.e. prior to 800 H. We find him referring to "Maulana Jalal Rumi" (sic.) in his *Hada'ir al-Quds* which he composed in 803 H during his journey from Delhi to

Deccan. In this work, he speaks about Maulana rather critically, opening his remarks with the statement that "Maulana Jalal Rumi is either a mad man of no consequence or a lover who does not know". In his Epistles (*Maktubat*), the Khwaja is still more critical. That Maulana should have been misunderstood in a distant land like Hind was not unexpected: he was grossly misunderstood even by his own countrymen. In the third 'Daftar' of Masnavi, Maulana has referred to their attacks and has refuted them vigorously.

By the middle of the 8th century Hijra, some 80 years after Maulana's death, Masnavi came to be studied in the saintly circles, particularly by the saints of the Naqshbandi Order of Khurasan and Transoxiana. From there, this tradition was implanted on the soil of the present areas of Pakistan and then further south in Hindostan. Quotations and selections from Masnavi are to be found in the writings of the Naqshbandi saints beginning from the mid-nineth century through the 11th century of Hijra, and thereafter. Khwaja Muhammad Parsa who died in 822 H. made selections from Masnavi in his "*Lubb-i-Lubab-i-Masnavi*". Shaykh Ya'qub Charkhi (d. 851 H.) in his *Rislah-i-Abdaliyah* referred to Maulana by name and gave two long quotations from Masnavi. Khwaja Darwesh Muhammad Bukhari Ahrari who died in 970 H. compiled his selections from Masnavi in his "*Lubb-i-Lubab wa Risalah-i-Intikhab*. Khwaja Baqibillah (d.1012 H) later quoted Masnavi in his "*Mukashifat-i-Ainiyah*" and in his "*Maktubat*". Of all these, the *Risalah-i-Abdaliyah* being a biography of Shaykh Ali Hujweri "Data Ganjbakhsh" of Lahore gained a wider circulation and prepared the ground for a further study of Masnavi in the Punjabn in the 1st half of the 9th century A.H. Later on, the Naqshbandi saints, who had extended their sphere of influence, continued to quote and write

about Masnavi. They popularised the study of Masnavi further east in the Subcontinent.

Consolidation as a Cultural Tradition

By the turn of the 8th century Hijra (14th century A.D.), the name of Maulana and his Masnavi had reached most of the scholarly/saintly circles in the Subcontinent. In the next two centuries, the 9th and the 10th, the study of Masnavi became more popular and widespread as a hallmark of scholarly attainment. It was consolidated into a cultural tradition so that most of the students who completed their formal education were motivated to study Masnavi.

This growing interest in the study of Masnavi generated a tremendous educational effort. Qualified scholars undertook to edit the text of Masnavi and to prepare its digests, commentaries and glossaries. The accomplished scribes attempted to produce its manuscripts in the best styles of calligraphy. The evidence on record confirms that this effort at facilitating the availability of the texts, commentaries and glossaries of Masnavi commenced in the 11th century. The credit for being the first exponent of Masnavi during this period goes to the learned Abdul Latif Abbasi. His contribution has not yet been fully appreciated and also enough is not known about him except that he was son of AbduIlah, belonged to Gujarat, and that he died in 1048/49 A.H. (during the reign of Shah Jehan).

Abdul Latif is known to have produced the following important works pertaining to the study of Masnavi: an authentic text entitled *Nuskhah-i-Nasikhah-i-Masanviyat Saqimah* etc., an elaborate commentary entitled "*Lata'if al-Ma'navi min Haqa'iq al-Masnavi.* The commentary and the lexicon were published long ago, but Abdul Latif's

scholarly edition of the text of Masnavi which he produced by comparing and collating different manuscripts is not easily available to scholarly circles. His accomplishment is to be regarded as an early example of modern scientific research in editing a given text. It is a strange coincidence that a considerable part of this work was done by him in the Peshawar region.

It was during the first quarter of the 11th century that Abdul Latif devoted himself to preparing a standard text of Mansavi. He went from place to place in search of manuscripts, and that he found a number of them shows that interest in the study of Masnavi was widespread early in the 11th century. In his introduction (*Mir'at al-Masnavi*), he has mentioned some of the manuscripts which he compared and collated. In 1024, H.(1615) he came across a good old copy of Masnavi in Kabul which had already been collated with sixty manuscripts. In 1025 A. H., he found several manuscripts of Masnavi (in a private Madrasah Library) at 'Yulam Guzar (the present Elum Guzar) 11 miles south of Peshawar, which he utilized for collation. In 1031 H., he found four more manuscripts in Burhanpur. After comparing all these and many others, he prepared the Masnavi's text which he called:

نسخه ناسخه مثنويات سقيمه مثبت و مروج نسخ صحيحه مستقيمه

He finally wrote a 'Preface' to it entitled مراه المثنوي in 1031H., thus completing the whole work in that year.

Abdul Latif wrote his commentary on Masnavi in Persian, mostly during the reign of Jahangir. Interest in the study of Masnavi had gained momentum during the Mughul period beginning from the reign of Akbar. This is also confirmed by references to Masnavi by Abul Faz1 in his *Insha* (*Daftar*-III). Emperor Aurangzeb held Masnavi in high esteem. Because of such promising trends during the

Mughal Period, the pioneering effort of Abdul Latif set an example which was followed subsequently by other scholars who continued to write commentaries on Masnavi during the next two hundred years.

Of a large number of commentaries which were produced during this period, some of the more well known and representative ones were:

1. A *Sharh* by Shaykh. Muhammad Abhari, who had first settled in Lahore and then in Delhi. He wrote his commentary before 1100 A.H., as quoted in that year by Muhammad Abid in his *Mughni*.
2. A *Sharh* entitled *Mughni* (Br. Museum Mss. No. 'Or..369') by Muhammad Abid in 1100 A.H., the author's own copy in which he quotes Abdul Latif.
3. A *Sharh* by Bahlol b. Mirza Khan Barki of Jalandhar in 1129 A.H. (Hafiz Mahmood Shirani Collection, Punjab University, Lahore, No. 6362).
4. A *Sharh* by Maulvi Wali Muhammad of Akbarabad in 1140 A.H. (published by Nawalkishor, Lucknow, in 1312 A.H).
5. A *Sharh* by Shah Mir Mohammad Nurullah Ahrari of Akbarabad. who had also lived in Arcot (Br. Museum Mss. No. 'Add. 16771').
6. The commentary entitled *Hull al-Masnavi* by Muhammad Afzal of Allahabad, who wrote it as a supplement to the works of Abdul Latif and Mir Nurullah Ahrari (Br. Museum Mss. No. 'Add. 16771').
7. A *Sharh* by Sayyid Shukrullah Khan Khaksar during the reign of 'Alamgir.
8. The commentary entitled 'Bahr' by the scholarly Abdu1 Ali (d. 1252) who was known as 'Bahr-al-Ulum' (published by Nawalkishore, Lucknow, in 1923 H.).

A number of commentaries were written in the present areas of Pakistan of which some important ones may be mentioned:

1. A commentary by Muhammad Raza of Lahore (*Mukashafat-i-Rizvi*), of which a beautifully transcribed copy is preserved in the Peshawar University Library.
2. A commentary entitled *Asrar-i-Ma'navi wa Anwar-i-Masnavi* composed during 1096-1104 A.H. by Ahdullah Khweshgi of Kasur, in which he quotes among others *Manaqib al-Arifin* of Aflaki, *Jawami' al-Kalim* of Sayyid Gesudaraz, *Tahqiqat* by Khwaja Muhammad Parsa, *Lata'if al-M'anavi* of Abdul Latif and other sources.
3. A commentary known as *Sharh-i-Ayyub* by Khwaja Muhammad Ayyub Qureshi (d.1155) of Lahore, which he completed in 1120.

All these commentaries were written in Persian, and so long as Persian remained the language of learning, education and correspondence in the Subcontinent, it was well understood by the educated class and therefore no need was felt for translating Masnavi. Till the end of the 13th century A.H. the text and the commentaries continued to be read in original Persian, with full understanding and appreciation. An important text, by Abdul Ali 'Bahr al-Ulum' (published in 1923 A.D. from Lucknow by Munshi Nawalkishore) along with the commentary *Bahr,* is recognised to be comparatively the first standard authentic text of Masnavi: The *Bahr* of Bahr al-Ulum, *Mukashafat-i-Rizvi* of Muhammad Raza, *Jawahir al-Ansar* of Maulana Hasan Sabzwari were all published by Nawalkishore by the end of the 19th century. Not only the text and the commentaries, but also the text of Aflaki's biographical work *Manaqib al-Arifin wa Mir'at al Kashifin* was published from Agra as early as 1897 A.D. It was already being used by scholars of Masnavi as we find it quoted in Abdullah Khweshgi's commentary during the first decade of the 12th century A.H.

With decline of the Persian studies, competent teachers became fewer in number, and it became difficult for the interested student to understand Masnavi even with the help of commentaries which were in Persian. Yet, interest in the study of Masnavi continued, and this initiated a new scholarly effort by the turn of the 13th century Hijra to produce translations and commentaries in local vernaculars so that the lovers of Masnavi, who were not well versed in Persian, could understand it in their own mother tongues.

This new effort was tremendous in dimensions, and a number of translations and commentaries in Urdu and other languages were produced. Thus, we find an Urdu translation of 'Selections' from Masnavi entitled *Shajrah-i-Ma'rifat*, published (Nawalkishore, Lucknow) as early as 1885. To motivate the reader, some scholars came out with versified translations. Yusuf Ali Shah's versified Urdu translation entitled *Pairahan-i- Yusufi* was published in 1897 from Kanpur and in 1899 from Lucknow; and Simab Akbarabadi's *Ilham-iManzum* in 1928 (from Lahore under the name of Maulvi Ferozeuddin of the Ferozesons). Similar accomplishments were made in other languages, of which some typical examples from Pakistan may be mentioned. A versified commentary in Punjabi by Pir Imam Shah was published from Lahore in 1912. Maulvi Muhammad Shah Din's Punjabi translation of the 'First Daftar' was also published long ago by Allahwala Bookshop, Lahore. During the 1960s, a versified translation in Sindhi of the entire Masnavi was completed and published by Maulvi Din Muhammad A. Feroseshahi of Hyderabad Sindh. Maulvi Abdul Jabbar of Kohat wrote a commentary of the first three *Daftars* in Pushtu, a manuscript copy of which is preserved in the Pushtu Academy, Peshawar. A Pushtu commentary by Abdul Akbar Khan was published during the 1970s.

These commentaries generally explained words and verses, meanings and allusions to enable the reader to understand the text of Masnavi. At higher thought level, commentaries by the learned dived deep into Sufism, scholasticism and philosophy. In contrast, the eminent literatuer Shibli Mu'amani (d.1914) inspired reverence for Rumi and wrote his very first biography (*Savaneh-e Maulana-e-Rum*).

Adoration for Rumi was initiated earlier by poets in Iran by the end of the 15th century A.D., and, their veneration reached the climax in the compositions of Abd al-Rahman Jami. In the Subcontinent (Sindh,Pakistan), Shah Latif (d.1752) was the first great poet who paid compliments to Rumi. In modern times, the renowned poet philosopher Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938) was so much attracted by Rumi that he calls himself a disciple (*Murid*) of Rumi whom he reveres as spiritual guide (*Pir*). In Iqbal's journey through heavens in Jawed Namah, Rumi becomes his celestial guide.

Shah Latif was one of the earliest great poets in the Subcontinent who inspired reverence for Rumi, the only predecessor whom Shah Latif named in his verses and whose Masnavi he carried with himself. He had asked his learned disciple Maulavi Muhammad Salah to recite from Masnavi daily after the Asr prayer.

As in Masnavi, the meaning and implications of *wahdat al-wujud* are often reflected in the verses of Risalo though Ibn al-Arabi is not named by him. These reflections carry shades of meanings which are yet to be analysed to grasp the essence of Shah Latif's perceptions. There are at least two subjects which are illuminated both in Masnavi and

Risalo, viz. the Nay (Reed Flute) and the Elephant which was described differently by those who touched it.

In view of the pathos created by the Nay music, Rumi lets the Nay speak of its own life story; and the Nay complains how it was cut and separated from its 'reed-bed companions':

Listen to Nay what story it is telling,
Of separation it is complaining:
Ever since they cut me from my reed-bed fellows
Men women at my laments are wailing.

One manuscript of the Risalo dated 1207/1792 which is preserved at Bhit, opens with the following verses (in *masnavi* form) which are an echo of Rumi's above verses. Therein, Shah Latif refers to the Nay reed that is cut and separated from the bunch of reed stalks and also alludes to the animal that is slaughtered and butchered:

The one (Nay) that is cut from reed-bed is wailing,
The other (animal) that is slaughtered is groaning:
This one (wails) for its green leaves,
That one (groans) for its butchered bones.

Secondly, tales/stories provide perspective for ideas in both the works. Rumi uses the tales derived from different sources[8], and after having streamlined them he spells them out in detail in his Masnavi. The *bayts* of Shah Latif are also composed in the perspective of popular Sindhian stories as well as other common themes (trades and occupations, men of generosity, wandering faqirs, professional minstrels, monsoon rains, flamingo, swan), but he takes for granted their knowledge on the part of his audience. Therefore instead of recounting a story in detail, he alludes to its significant aspects to bring out what is most meaningful. The only common story that is found

both in Masnavi and Risalo, is that of the elephant and its differing descriptions. Rumi's source for it was probably Ghazali's *Ihya' Ulum al-Din* wherein it is recounted in detail. Rumi has given the text of the story in 8 verses, which are followed by his own meaningful generalizations[9]. It is likely that Ghazali's *Ihya* was known to Shah Latif as it was then being quoted in contemporary circles. Shah Waliy Allah (1702-1763 A.D.), a younger contemporary of Shah Latif, has given it in his *Hujjatu Allah al-Baligha*, and referred to the elephant in the dark being described differently. As related in Masnavi, some Indians brought an elephant for presentation and placed the animal inside a dark house. The four individuals who touched the different parts of Elephant's body gave different descriptions of what the elephant was like. According to Shah Latif's *bayt*, four blind men stumbled upon a dead elephant and by touching it with their hands they described it differently. Shah Latif has composed a single *bayt* of four lines, and his version of the story also differs. The way Shah Latif alludes to the story in a few words and draws inferences is reflected in the following translation of his *bayt*.[10]

The blind ones stumbled upon a dead elephant,
They only touched with hands, being unable to see with eyes.
Only those with clear vision can reckon the elephant in reality,
Yet it's the insight of the superior ones that restores the sight.

A study of Masnavi and of Risalo reveals some parallelisms, though a few not many, depending upon sansibility of the reader': There may occur an awareness of similar ideas, sameness of imagination and semblance of some perceptions. Yet there is no borrowing of words and phrases, of contexts and conclusions. Shah Latif excels in investing his mother tongue Sindhi with possibilities of expressing delicate meanings and higher concepts. Originality & evaluation of Rumi's high stature may be

discerned from his following six *bayts*[11] in which he names Rumi and compliments him in a highly veiled and discursive manner:

A Seeker (of Truth), A Mansion on Lake!
This is Rumi's perfection,
Those who had the vision,
Uttered not a word, in shere amazement!

A Seeker (of Truth), A Mansion on Lake!
Rumi is King inwardly!
Not an ordinary man!
Behold the majic laid before you!

A Seeker (of Truth), A Mansion on Lake!
Rumi in his presence
Opens the lock
For the inner vision.

A Seeker (of Truth), A Mansion on Lake!
Rumi inspires (spiritually):
Self-negation is the prior condition
To have Friend's vision.

A Seeker (of Truth), A Mansion on Lake!
Rumi in his pleasing moments!
Those who saw in company
Remained speechless!

A Seeker (of Truth), A Mansion on Lake!
It is Rumi's standpoint:
Consume in fire of separation
To gain the inner vision.

The translation supplied above is intended to keep closer to the import possibly implied by Shah Latif.†

REFERENCES

1. Composed in 1264 A.H.; the Text, ed. N.A.Baloch, Hyderabad Sindh, 1976.
2. In this text century, Maulavi Salamullah Qureshi of Hala (Sindh), in the margin of his printed copy of Masnavi, had noted down the corresponding *bayts* from Risalo which reflected the same purport and meaning as those in Masnavi.
3. Sorley, H.T.: Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit, Oxford University Press, London, 1940, p.207.
4. 'Awaz' (عَوَض) is nearer to the early pronunciation 'Awadh', though during the British Colonial Period the name was written as 'Oudh'. In earlier histories of the Muslim period, the name is transcribed as: عيوض، عوض etc.
5. His own verse giving the year of composition:
   بود عشرين سبعماه سال تمام كاين رساله در عوض شد انتظام
6. He introduced himself as:
   احمد رومي است نام و نسبتم سال پنجاه است اندر غربتم
   (اندر غربتم) may be interpreted as (غريب الديار), that is for fifty years (670-720 H.) he was travelling as a stranger.
7. This mss. was recently transferred to the Sindh Archives, Karachi. The mss. of *Daqa'iq al-Haqa'iq* are listed in the catalogues of Dacca University Library and Calcutta Library (see Ivanovo). I was informed of a manuscript of it (?) in private collection in Pakistan, in Rohri (Sindh).

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† The original 1st line in each of the above six *bayts* reads *'Talib Qasar Soonha Sar'* (Talib=Seeker of knowledge/of Truth, Qasar (Ar. Qasr) = Mansion, Soonha (Sindhi) = beauty, Sar (Sindhi) = big pond, lake. Because of the loaded meaning, translation may be differently worded depending upon the reader's comprehension. For my own earlier translation, based more on literal meaning, see 'SINDH: Studies Cultural', Pakistan Study Centre, University of Sindh, Pakistan, 1425 A.H./2004 A.D., p.363.

8. From the works of Sanai and Attar and other sources (cf. Arberry, A.J.: Tales from the Masnavi, George Allen and Unwin, London).

9. R.A. Nicholson: The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi, Vol. III, Text, Book-III, lines 1259-1361, and Vol. IV, Eng. Tr., pp.71-72.

10. Shah-jo-Raislo, ed. N.A Baloch, Vol. VIII+IX of the Authentic Standardized Text, Hyderabad Sindh, 1420 H/1999, Sur Asa, Dastan-1, bayt No.19.

11. Ibid, Sur Kalyan, Dastan 2, Nos.16-21.

XVIII

SPECIFIC GRAVITY OF METALS AND MINERALS BY BERUNI.

Beruni's book *Kitab al-Jamahir fi Ma'rifat al-Jawahir*[1] (The Book Most Comprehensive in Knowledge of Precious Stones) is, historically, the first worthy text on mineralogy. Beside much of common sense, philosophy, anthropology, evolution, history, geography, lore and literature, the specifically scientific content (physics, geology, chemistry, botany, marine biology, mineralogy, metallurgy) is writ large in the text of *Kitab al-Jamahir*. In different contexts, Beruni has often made observations of scientific import. For example:

- The crystal in its pristine state was liquid in motion (p. 163). The crystal is congealed water (p. 160).[2]
- Milk, a liquid, forms bones, and the harder fruit-stones are formed by-water (p. 167).
- The magnet piece which is in direct contact with air and sun loses its (magnetic) force (p. 184).
- The capacity of the lightening to melt solid objects that can be melted argues for the fact that air accompanies lightening and thunder bolt (p. 215).
- The alchemists' (*al-kimya'un*) claim that they can make better gold than the natural gold.....can remain a claim only. Their product, which they call *humlan*, to say the least, is corrupt (pp.211-12).

Of great importance is his calculation of relative weights and volumes and specific gravities which has

engaged the attention of discerning scholars.[3] Long back, Krenkow had observed:

> No other work in Arabic or Persian of which I have knowledge treats the subject in such a scientific manner, and as a rule other works made no pretence of investigating the specific weights, hardness and probable origin of the precious stones and minerals discussed (*The Chapter on Pearls*).[4]

Of all the books on jewels and mined stones, Beruni's book enjoys superiority in that he has established the specific gravity of most of the stones and jewels he has described. It is only through the knowledge of the specific gravity of stones that imitation can be detected and the precious stones saved from imitation (*Khatima* at the end of the Arabic ed. By Krenkow).

More recently attention was called particularly to the "scientific problems raised by al-Beruni' in this work - viz. the origin of minerals and metals, growth of minerals and the progressive formation of metals, and the determination of specific gravity of metals and minerals.

In view of all sorts of tales and claims about quality and purity of precious stones and metals, Beruni saw the need for devising a scientific method whereby genuine metals and gemstones could be distinguished from the corrupt ones and, also the comparative degree of excellence of each could be precisely established. The idea of standard weights and specific gravity had dawned upon him, and he sat down to prove it experimentally. Thus, he devised a 'specific gravity flask' and operating it in combination with his 'Water Balance' he determined relative weights and specific gravities of different metals and minerals.

All this has not been elaborated by Beruni in *Kitab al-Jamahir*, but on the basis of his experimentation and verification, he has given relative weights of a number of metals and minerals and also made other relevant observations as under:

(a) With gold as the axis (*qutb*) having the standard weight of 100, the relative weight, with equivalence in volume, of mercury=71 (p.199), tubal iron 41-1/3 (p.215), copper =45-2/3 (p.211), shibh (yellow copper)=44-7/8, (p. 225), lead= 60-1/8 (p.221).

(b) With *ghubari ruby* as the axis (*qutb*) having the standard weight of 100, the relative weight, with equivalence in volume, of the red ruby 97-1/8 (p.64), bussad 64-13/24 (p.166), lapiz lazuli=67-7/1 2 (p.168), emerald 79-1/2 (p.142), Subaj (about)=28 (p.172), Kahruba=21-5/12 (p.182), hajar al-awz=103-3/4, p.186). Syrian glass=62-19/24 (p.191) and Green glass=99-1/3 (p.194).

(c) Weight being the same, gold is less in volume than silver (p.26).

(d) Weight of gold, as compared to any other metal/mineral of an equivalent volume, always remains less in value (p.202).

(e) Volume being the same, silver is less in mass and heavier than copper (p.26).

(f) Ratio of weight - gold ten dirhams: silver fifty dirhams: Brass fifteen *manna* (p.26).

(g) Ratio in volume of iron and gold, both of same weight, is 151:63 'as verified by me by means of the water balance' (p.202).

(h) "I have not verified the relative weights of *bijadhi* and *ghubari* (rubies)", (p.73).

In this context, Beruni has also stated that he has authored a special Monograph (*Maqalah*) on this subject (p. 64). Its full title is to be found in the *Fihrist* (List) of his own works, drawn up by Beruni himself, as *Maqalah fi al-nisab allati bayn al- filizzat ma al-jawahir fi al-hajm* (The Treatise on Ratios in Volume of Metals and Precious Stones). As the *Fihrist* was compiled by him in 427 A.H., (1035), the *Maqalah* was obviously composed by him earlier. Being a scientific work of a pioneering nature, it was used subsequently by scientists for the next two centuries though it continued to echo in scholarly circles for centuries thereafter. Abu Ja'far Al Khazini (d.550 A.H./ 1155) extracted it in the Third Part (*maqalah*) of his own work *Mizan al-Hikmat*[5] (The Balance of Wisdom) referring to it as Abu Rayhan Beruni's "*Kitab al-nisab bayn al-filizzat wa al-jawahir fi al-hajm*"[6]. Later on, the scholastic Sa'd al-Din Al-Taftazani (d.791 A.H./1389) recorded a description of Beruni's apparatus and experiment (most probably based on the *Maqalah*) in his own work *Sharh al-Maqasid* (see below).

Both in Khazini's extraction and in Taftazani's description it is stated that the sample of water used by Beruni for filling in his 'specific gravity flask' was drawn by him from one fixed place in the section of the Oxus (Jayhun) river adjacent to the capital city of Jurjaniyah. This confirms that Beruni had started studying gemstones, minerals and metals long before his arrival in Ghaznah in 408/1017. This was during his stay in Jurjaniyah on the Oxus, the capital of the Mamunid Princes (opposite to Kath on the other side which was the capital of the previous Banu 'Iraq dynasty) of Khwarazm.

On the basis of the recorded events, the period of Beruni's stay in Jurjaniyah can more or less be precisely fixed from the year 399 A.H. to 407 A.H. (1008-1016/17 A.D.). He was born (Thursday 3, Dhu'l Hijjah 362 A.H.) in his native city of Kath, the then capital of Khwarazm where after completing his education, he engaged himself in independent scientific research beginning at least from the year 380/990 when he made an astronomical observation. He continued his work uninterrupted for the next five years until 385/995, when civil war broke out and Beruni left the country. He remained out of Khwarazm for the next fourteen years (385-399) except for a temporary visit to Kath in 387/997 to observe a lunar eclipse. He finally returned to his country some time before or early in 399/1008, this time to Jurjaniyah the capital of Abu al-Hasan Ali the ruling Prince of the new Mamunid Dynasty, who had specially invited him.

It was on the basis of his specialized knowledge based on his experimentally verified conclusions during this period that he came to be recognized as an authority on gemstones and was officially assigned the responsibility to oversee the annual despatch of presents, which would include precious stones of rare quality, to the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud (cf. *K. al-Jamahir*. present ed., p.47) by his brother-in-law Prince Abu al-'Abbas Mamun of Khwarazm 399-407 A.H. Thus, mainly it was during the period of about 9 years (399-407 A.H.) prior to his arrival in Ghaznah in 408/1017, that Beruni had devised and perfected his apparatus and instruments, conducted his experiments and determined relative weights and volumes as well as specific gravity of a number of metals and gemstones with precision.

On the hydrostatic method of finding specific gravity, Beruni observed thus: "Scientific men determine by means of water the measure of these differences in weights. They prepare a vessel filled with water in. which they introduce 100 *mithqals* of each of the metals: the quantity of water thrown out by each gives the difference in volume and weight, that one which displaces the largest bulk of water has consequently the largest volume but the least density, and that one which displaces the least water is the heaviest." The special flask for holding water which he designed was rightly called by Khazini after the name of Abu al-Rayhan Al-Beruni as "The Conical Instrument of Abu al-Rayhan'. While experimenting with it, Beruni detected the capillary action which caused the water to rise in the mizab, with drops there of remaining suspended in its curvature. Also, Beruni visualized the solution that if the mizab were given a circular flexure, made shorter than a semi circle and pierced with holes, the water will flow down through it smoothly without any of the droplets remaining suspended. He also understood it that the length and the diameter of the flask's neck affected the experiment and noted that "he could have made it narrower than the little finger" but for the difficulty of inserting through it down into the vessel and again taking out of it the somewhat larger pieces of metals/minerals. After gaining such insights, he modelled to near perfection what historically became "Beruni's Specific Gravity Flask".

Besides the shape of the flask, some other factors which caused variations in results were also detected by Beruni. The one was the absolute cleanliness of the metal/mineral and purity of the water used, and the other, a more subtle one, temperature of water. Beruni knew that temperature influenced the density of water, and of other liquids; and he had also determined it that difference between the density

of cold and hot water was 0.041677 (N. Khanikoff, p.80). Beruni, therefore, sounded the warning that in the kind of experiments conducted by him to determine specific gravity, it was but necessary to control the water factor, because of the changes occurring in water due to its different sources and courses, and the temperatures to which it was subjected during the four seasons, 'on the analogy of air'. "Therefore", he says, "in all our experiments we used the water drawn from one fixed place, from the Oxus River adjacent to Jurjaniyah, in the beginning of autumn (*Kharif*) season". However, he also explained the general principle that even the ordinary drinking water was good enough provided the same water under the same conditions was used while experimenting with different metals and minerals. And yet, the scientists after Beruni kept following him faithfully — not only in their careful use of the balance but, as Khazini informs, they also related the process of finding the specific gravities "to a determined sort of water, similar in density to the water of Jayhun of Khwarazam, exclusively of other waters" (*Mizan al-Hikmat*, p.70 & Introduction, Section 5).

Beruni's keen observation, insights and understandings, and his ability to design and refine his apparatus, contributed to the success of his experiments in determining the specific gravity of gemstones, metals and other minerals with remarkable accuracy. In his study (Jr. Asiatique, XI, 1858), J. J. Clement-Mullet produced a Table of comparative figures of specific gravities for 18 metals/minerals as given by Beruni with modern figures (in 1858) to show the remarkable accuracy of Beruni's calculations. Subsequently, H. C. Bolton also gave modern figures in his study in 1876 as in the following Table:

	Values as determined by Abu Rayhan Beruni	*Modern Authorities*	
		Figure cited by Clement-Mullet	Figures cited by Bolton
Gold	19.05	19.26	19.30
Mercury	13.58	13.59	13.568
Lead	11.33	11.35	11.346
Silver	10.35	10.47	10.52
Bronze	8.82	10.47	8.05 to 8.95
Copper	8.70	8.85	8.78
Brass	8.57	8.85	8.58
Iron	7.31	7.79	7.79
Tin	7.74	7.29	7.29
Sapphire	3.97	3.99	3.99
Oriental Ruby	3.85	3.90	3.90
Ruby	3.58	3.52 mohs	3.52
Emerald	2.75	2.7373	2.73
Pearl	2.69	2.75	2.75
Lapis Lazuli	2.60	2.90	2.90
Cornelian	2.56	2.61	2.61
Amber	2.53	1.08	1.08
Rock crystal	2.50	2.58	2.58

The scholastic Sa'd al-Din Taftazani's concise and interesting description of Beruni's experimentation in Jurjaniyah, Khwarazm, may be noted:

> In order to determine the comparative difference between metals and some stones from the point of volume, lightness and heaviness, Abu Rayhan had devised a vessel resembling the *tabarzad,* on the neck of which was mounted a curved tube (*mizab*), as it is in *abariq* (flasks). He filled the vessel with water and put into it one hundred *mithqal* (of a given metal/mineral) - say of gold. Below the

> tip (ras) of the *mizab*, he placed one pan of the balance (to hold water) whereby he intended to find the volume / weight of water displaced from the vessel. For this experiment, it was first ensured by him that the metal/mineral was clean and so also the water. The water used by him in his experiments was that of the *Jayhun* (Oxus) river in (the capital of) Khwarazm drawn during the *kharif* (autumn) season. For, undoubtedly the results (according to him) depended on the quality of the water used in its changing conditions in different regions and seasons. From the weight/volume of the water displaced from the vessel on immersion of 100 *mithqal* of each metal/mineral he determined the relative difference between their weights and volumes..... Abu Rayhan and his followers have prepared a standard Table of the quantity of water that pours out of the vessel when (i) 100 *mithqal* of gold, silver or any other metal/mineral are put into it; (ii) when nine different metals/minerals equivalent in volume of 100 *mithqal* of gold, are put into it; (iii) when gemstones equivalent in volume to 100 *mithqal* of Celestial Hyacinth (al-Yaqut al-Asmanjuni) are put into it; and (iv) when any weights, which have volume equal to that of 100 *mithqal* when out of water, and different when inside water. (Al-Taftazani: *Sharh Maqasid fi 'Ilm 'Aqa'id al-Din*, Al-Haj Muharram Effendi Press, Istanbul, Jumada-1, 1305 A.H., p.376).

References in *Khazini's Mizan al-Hikmat* indicate that Beruni had continued his specific gravity experiments after his advent and settlement in Ghaznah, Here he had, brought more of metals and liquids under study, and increased the unit mass from.100 mithqal to 'one cubit cube' to determine relative weights. Recounting the history of the 'water balance' and its use by scientists from early times, Khazini says in the introduction to his book that during the rule of the 'House of Nasir al-Din' (i.e. the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud and his successors), the balance was used with expertise by Abu Rayhan (Beruni):

"Who took observations on the relations of (different) metallic bodies and precious stones, one to another, as indicated by this balance, and carried his deductions so far as to distinguish one from another (in a compound), exactly and scientifically, without melting or refining, by arithmetical methods."

This interesting observation shows that in the 6th/12th century Central Asia, when Khazini wrote in Merv, the practice of determining the degrees of purity of gold by melting and refining was common and known, though the practice was not a scientific one. In much later times, one such practice known as *banwari* which had been developed in India by the experts in the Imperial Mint of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.H.), has been explained in detail by Abu'l Fazl in The *A'in-i Akbari* [Eng. tr. by H. Blochmann, ("A'in 6: Banwari, pp.1, 9-20"), The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1927].

In Chapter IV of the Third Part, Khazini has described one of Beruni's experiments in Ghaznah in which he used a 'cubit cube' as the standard unit of volume/weight instead of 100 mithqals as before:

Abu Rayhan ordered a cube of brass to be made, with as much exactness as possible, and that it should be bored on its face, at two opposite angles, with two holes, one for pouring water into it, and the other for the escape of air from it; and he weighed it in the flying balance, first empty and hollow, then filled with fresh river-water of the city of Ghaznah.....etc.etc.

Khazini took this from Beruni's *Maqalah*, but he had also used Beruni's *Kitab al-Jamahir* from which he only summarized (under Part IV, Chapter 10) Beruni's observations on eight precious stones. It is also clear from the present text of *K. al-Jamahir* that Beruni has not

described in it any of his experiments based on 'cubit cube' as a unit. However, he has cited the following one result which is based on the value of a cubit cube:

Weight of a cubit cube of water is one nineteenth part of a similar cube of gold (p.204).

This was most probably determined by him in the experiments which he conducted in Ghaznah.

It may, therefore, be concluded that though Beruni finished composing *K. al-Jamahir* during the reign of the Ghaznavid Sultan Ma'udud (432-440 A H./10-40-1048 A.D.), most of his observations in it about relative weights/ volumes of metals/gemstones are based on his earlier experiments at Jurjaniyah, conducted during the years 399-407 A.H., where he used the water of the Oxus; while his observation about the relative weights of a cubit cube of water and of gold is based on the experiments which he conducted at Ghaznah between 408 A.H. and 427 A.H. in which he used fresh water of the Ghaznah river.

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5. *Mizan al-Hikmat* Arabic edition, Hyderabad Deccan, India, 1359 A.H.; 'Analysis and Extracts of It by N. Khanikoff, the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI, 1859; H. C. Bolton, 'The Book of the Balance of Wisdom' (The American Chemist, Ma, 1876), reprint New York, 1876.
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